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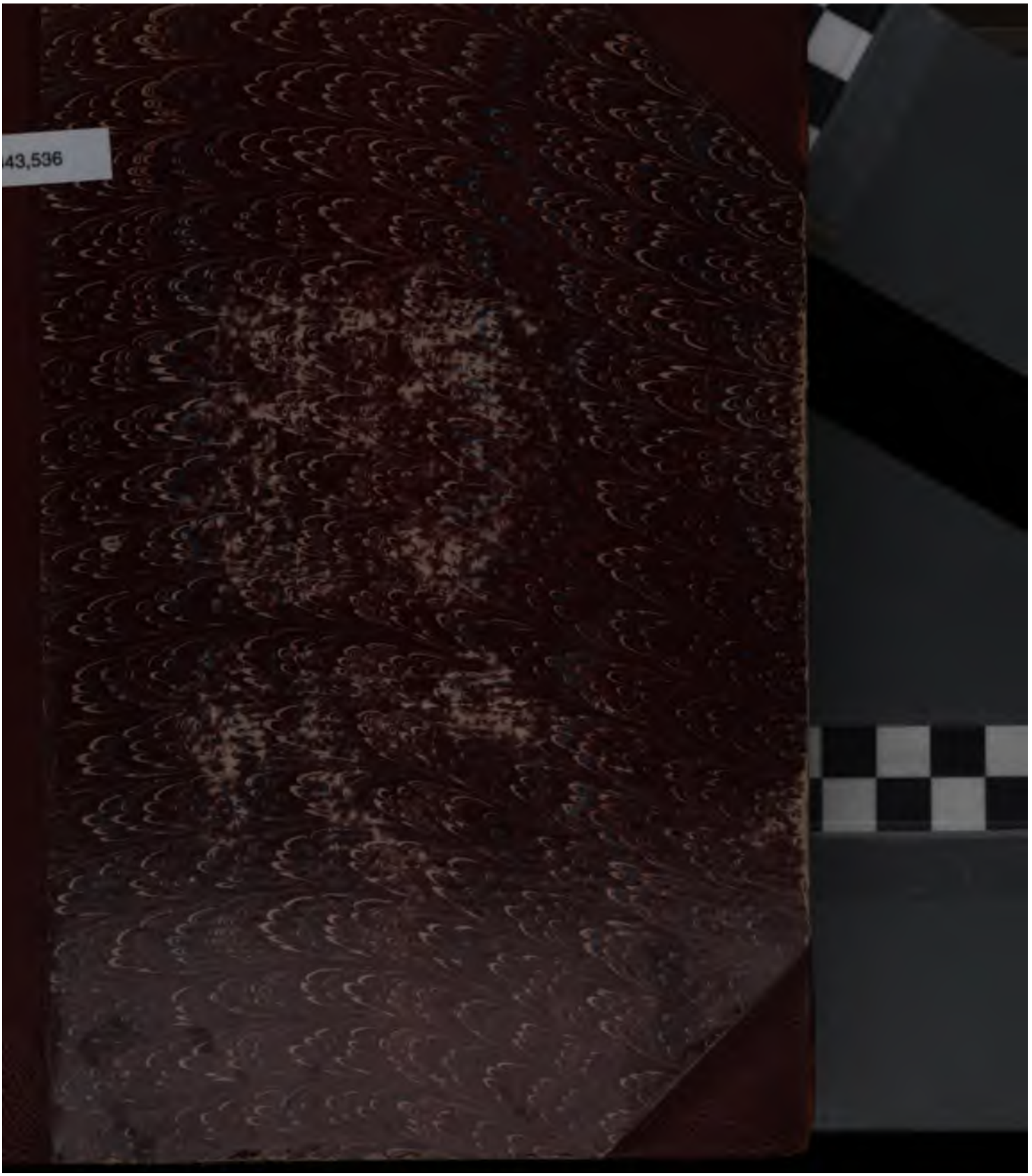
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OLD PARSONAGE OF KING'S CHURCH, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Occupied by the Rev. John Checkley from 1739 to 1754.

THE

Publications of the Prince Society.

Eſtabliſhed May 25th, 1858.

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JOHN CHECKLEY;

OR THE

EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Boston:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,
By John Wilson and Son.
1897.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES.

JOHN CHECKLEY;

OR THE

EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

IN

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

INCLUDING

MR. CHECKLEY'S CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS; HIS LETTERS AND OTHER PAPERS; HIS PRESENTMENT ON THE CHARGE OF A LIBEL FOR PUBLISHING A BOOK; HIS SPEECH AT HIS TRIAL; THE HON. JOHN READ'S PLEA IN ARREST OF JUDGMENT; AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE GREAT CONTROVERSY ON EPISCOPACY BY THE MINISTERS OF THE STANDING ORDER AND THE CLERGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1719–1774.

WITH HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

AND A

MEMOIR

BY THE REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D.

MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ETC., ETC., ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Boston:

PUBLISHED BY THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1897.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1897, by
THE PRINCE SOCIETY,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

PREFACE.

THE deſign of this monograph is to ſhow the evolution of religious tolerance in Maſſachuſetts Bay, eſpecially in its relations to the Church of England as illuſtrated by the life and career of the Rev. John Checkley. Other religious bodies, not of the Standing Order, had paſſed through the experience of conflicts, of ſtruggles, and of triumphs. From 1720 to 1742 Mr. Checkley was an active champion of the Church of England in Maſſachuſetts Bay, the conſtant and untiring aſſertor of the rights of its members under the law. Before this time ſevere and even cruel meaſures had been employed to ſuppreſs thoſe who differed from the Puritan Church. Whipping, mutilation, baniſhment, and death had been meted out to thoſe who perſiſted in holding and proclaiming a diſcordant faith. But this method had wholly diſappeared in 1720. That ſilent, unſeen, myſterious power, which philoſophers call evolution and Chriſtians call a Divine providence,

had wrought a marvellous change. The moſt poſitive, ingrained Puritan of 1720 would doubtleſs have recoiled with diſmay and indignation at the terrific phyſical puniſhments inflicted by the fathers for the crime of holding a differing faith.

But, nevertheleſs, evolution had not yet achieved a complete victory. Fines, impriſonment, and unjuſt taxation, taxation to build churches and to ſupport a religion which they did not believe, were ſtill inflicted with a rapacious hand. Againſt this intolerance, for more than twenty years, Mr. Checkley ſtruggled on, nothing daunted by fines, penalties, and perſonal abuſe, gaining one point after another, until at length he ſaw the conſummation of his wiſhes in the enactment of a general law, which, for the firſt time ſince the planting ot the colony, placed the members of the Church of England on an equal footing with the Standing Order. *Vide* Vol. II. p. 201, and note 71.

In collecting the material for this work, largely gathered out of original documents, I have received from ſcholars, ſtudents of hiſtory, officials and others, numerous courteſies for which I deſire to place upon record my hearty appreciation.

I am under obligations to the Biſhops of London, of Oxford, and of Ely, for ſearches obligingly made at my requeſt for information in the records of their ſeveral dioceſes.

My thanks are eſpecially due to Mr. C. F. Paſcoe of London, who is in charge of the manuſcripts and books of the

Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, for valuable information and extracts from the Society's records: to Mr. Lindſay Swift of Boſton, who, in cataloguing the library of Preſident John Adams, diſcovered the copies of letters in the handwriting of Mr. Checkley, which are printed in this work. Mr. Swift made a very exact and beautiful copy, for the uſe of which I am under ſpecial obligations. I am likewiſe under great obligations to Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., of Salem, the learned editor of the Province Laws, by whoſe indiſpenſable aid ſeveral intricate hiſtorical queſtions have been ſolved, particularly the official relations of the Hon. John Read at the trial of Mr. Checkley; to John Noble, Eſquire, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, for acceſs to the Suffolk Court Files, and extracts from the ſame.

I am alſo indebted for ſuggeſtions and courteſies to Juſtin Winſor, LL.D., of the Library of Harvard Univerſity, Samuel A. Green, LL.D., of the Library of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society, Profeſſor Franklin B. Dexter of the Library of Yale Univerſity, Mr. John Ward Dean of the New England Hiſtoric Genealogical Society, Mr. John Savary of the Library of Congreſs, Mr. William Kelby of the Library of the New York Hiſtorical Society, Mr. Albert C. Bates of the Library of the Connecticut Hiſtorical Society, Mr. C. B. Tillinghaſt of the State Library of Maſſachuſetts, Mr. William P. Upham of Salem, Mr. J. O. Auſtin

of Providence, R. I., the Rev. Carlos Slafter of Dedham, the Rev. C. A. L. Richards, D.D., Rector of St. John's Church, Providence, R. I., the Rev. Samuel H. Webb, Regiſtrar of the Dioceſe of Rhode Iſland, and the Rev. N. E. Cornwall, Rector of Chriſt Church, Stratford, Connecticut.

The co-operation of the deſcendants of Mr. Checkley has rendered the genealogical ſection, the outline of the family hiſtory, fuller and more valuable than I had anticipated.

If the work now completed ſhall prove, in any degree, to be a contribution to the early hiſtory of New England, or render the taſk of the general hiſtorian leſs difficult, and his concluſions more accurate, the aim of the author will be fully realized.

E. F. S.

BOSTON, 249 BERKELEY STREET,
January 1, 1897.

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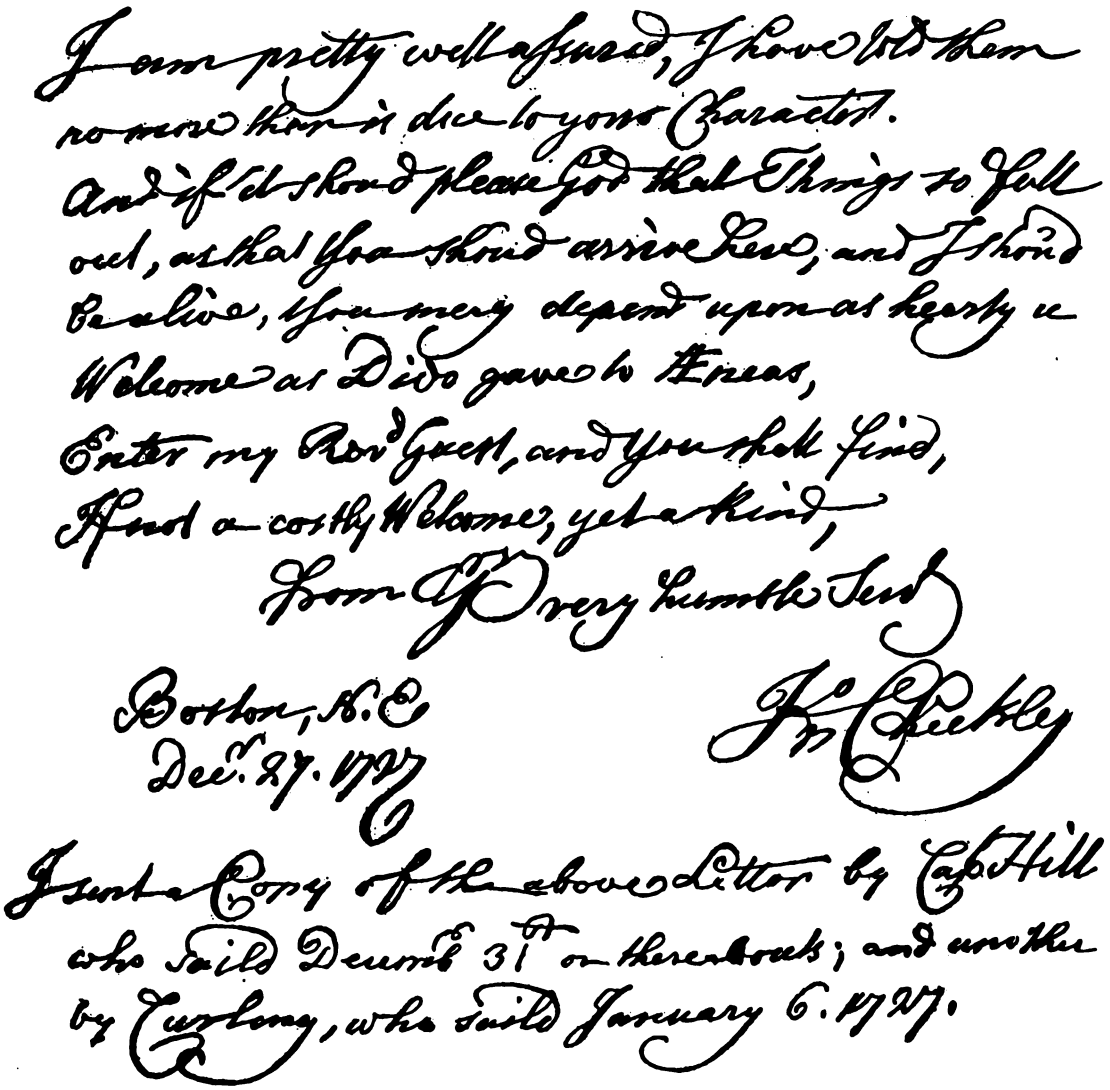

FAC-SIMILE OF MR. CHECKLEY'S HAND-WRITING.

The above is the closing sentence of a letter to the Rev. Mr. Black, of King's Chapel, Westminster. — Vide *vol. ii.* 191–92.

MEMOIR.

THE career of the Rev. JOHN CHECKLEY ſtretched over a period, after he entered upon his manhood, of ſomewhat more than half a century. He was born in Boſton, of Engliſh parentage, in the year 1680, and died in Providence, Rhode Iſland, where he had been Rector of King's Church, now St. John's, from 1739 to the day of his death, the 15th of February, 1754. He was an only ſon, and had an only ſiſter, who died at the age of ſeventeen years. The rudiments of his education were obtained in the Boſton Latin School, under the tuition of the renowned Ezekiel Cheever. He was ſubſequently ſent to England, where he completed his education at the Univerſity of Oxford. We find no evidence, however, of his matriculation, and his ſtudies were doubtleſs carried on under private inſtructors.

He afterward travelled extenſively on the Continent, viſiting moſt of the countries of Europe, where he collected many intereſting objects of *virtu*, ſuch as valuable paintings, rare books, and manuſcripts.[1]

At

[1] In the records of the town of Boſton, both municipal and church, we find no entry which we can identify as referring to John Checkley in his childhood or early

At what age he was ſent to England, and in what year he returned to Boſton, cannot be clearly determined. His return, however, was ſomewhat anterior to his marriage, and was doubtleſs not far from 1710.

We may well ſuppoſe that his ſtudies at Oxford began when he was not more than fifteen years of age, and, if he returned in 1710, he was abroad, moſtly in England, not far from fifteen years. This period was filled up with conſtant and aſſiduous work. Endowed with an unuſual gift in the acquiſition of languages, he made himſelf in theſe years a ripe ſcholar in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.[2]

His intellectual powers were of a ſuperior order. His opinions were deliberately formed, were clear and well-defined, and not often or eaſily changed. He was fond of argument, affluent in anecdote and learned alluſions, and his converſations were rich and glowing with humor, here and there ſparkling with coruſcations of wit. He was conſequently the centre of attraction in literary circles, although his ſentiments were never moulded ſo much

early years. The facts above ſtated are obtained from the brief notice, occupying leſs than two pages, in the Rev. Dr. John Eliot's ſketches of eminent men and literary characters, publiſhed in 1809, under the title of a "Biographical Dictionary." The material of this work, he informs us, he was "many years in collecting." He began his reſearches probably within forty years of Mr. Checkley's death. At that time ſome of his contemporaries were ſtill living, and the ſources of information were comparatively ample; moreover, Dr. Eliot informs us that two of Mr. Checkley's grandchildren were then living. He doubtleſs was in correſpondence with them. They could hardly fail to have ſome knowledge of their grandfather's hiſtory, and, moreover, may have had a family record. The facts ſtated by Dr. Eliot may be aſſumed as truſtworthy, and ſubſtantially correct.

[2] Dr. Eliot ſays, while abroad "he procured a valuable Hebrew Bible, elegantly written on vellum." *Biographical Dictionary, in loco.*

much to pleaſe the hearer, as to expreſs vigorouſly the convictions of his own mind.[3]

He is ſpoken of by writers in the early part of the preſent century as one of the wits of his time, as a very benevolent and good man, who added learning to a lively wit and a playful humor. His bon-mots, witticiſms, and laughter-provoking ſtories were current for a whole generation after his time. There exiſted in Boſton a coterie of humoriſts, of which Mr. Checkley was the central figure. Among them was Thomas Walter, a young man of brilliant promiſe, who died at the age of twenty-eight years, the equal of Checkley in cauſtic humor, and more than his equal in perſonal invective, who left behind him ſeveral publications of ſuperior merit.[4] John Read was another, a fine converſationiſt, and the profoundeſt lawyer of his time in Maſſachuſetts Bay.[5]

A

[3] Of his learning, Dr. Eliot ſays, "It rendered him a companion for learned and curious men, all of whom were fond of the company of John Checkley."

[4] Thomas Walter was a ſon of the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, of Roxbury, and was ſettled as a colleague of his father. His mother was a ſiſter of the renowned Dr. Cotton Mather. He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons, and two controverſial works mentioned in the ſequel, *vide* pp. 34, 83; alſo a work on muſic, entitled the *Grounds and Rules of Muſick Explained*. *Vide* a eulogy on him by the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy, in *Collections of Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society*, Vol. X. pp. 155-6.

It is an intereſting fact that the Rev. Thomas Walter's grandſon was the Rev. William Walter, D.D., who was rector of Trinity Church, Boſton, from 1764 to 1776, and, ſubſequently to the American Revolution, rector of Chriſt Church, Boſton. The grandfather's argument againſt Epiſcopacy did not ſeem to deter the grandſon from taking orders in the Church of England.

[5] John Read was born in 1680, and died February 14, 1749, N. S. He graduated at Harvard College in 1697; he entered the Congregational miniſtry, and officiated in ſeveral places, laſtly at Stratford, Connecticut, from about 1703 to 1706. Here, with a conſiderable number of his pariſhioners, he decided that it was his duty to conform to the Church of England.

In 1707 nineteen gentlemen in Stratford petitioned the Venerable Society for a miſſionary for that place, as may be ſeen by reference to Hawks and Perry's Connecticut Church Documents, Vol. I. p. 34. Mr. Read was an impreſſive and eloquent preacher. He ſeriouſly contemplated entering into holy orders; but many obſtacles intervened.

A third was Mather Byles, whoſe ſparkling ſayings have a touch of immortality, and are freſh in our memories today.[6] And laſt, but not leaſt, Joſeph Green, diſtinguiſhed not only for his wit and humor, but likewiſe for his extraordinary ſkill in readily caſting any ludicrous incident into poetic meaſure.[7]

Among

vened, and he finally entered the law. He became eminent, was Queen's attorney for the Province of Connecticut for ſeveral years, and held other important offices and truſts in that province. He began to do law-buſiness in Boſton as early as 1720; but on December 12, 1722, he purchaſed an eſtate on Hanover Street, where the hotel known as the American Houſe now ſtands, and came to Boſton to reſide. The next June after he took up his reſidence in Maſſachuſetts Bay, he was elected Attorney-General, and to this office annually till 1727, incluſive. It is neceſſary here to ſtate that for the year 1724 he did not act, as the formality of a nomination by the Governor had been neglected.

The nomination of the Attorney-General was the prerogative of the Governor, and without it, according to Engliſh law, the office could not be legally diſcharged. He was a member of the Houſe of Repreſentatives in 1738, and of the Governor's Council in 1741 and 1742. He was an active and influential member of King's Chapel, and a warden in 1735 and 1736. He acquired a wide influence, was an oracle among the ſages of Maſſachuſetts Bay, and was accounted the ableſt lawyer in the Province. *Vide Life of the Hon. John Read*, by George B. Reed, Boſton, 1879; *Lives of Eminent Lawyers, Statesmen, and Men of Letters*, by Samuel L. Knapp, 1829; *Hiſtory of the Epiſcopal Church in Connecticut*, by E. Edwards Beardſley. D.D., 1865, Vol. I. pp. 21-22; *Suffolk Court Records*, 1723 *et ſequentes; Council Records of Maſſachuſetts Bay*, 1723 *et ſequentes; Annals of King's Chapel, Boſton*, by the Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, 1882 *paſſim*.

In the town records of Stratford, Connecticut, his name was ſpelled "Reed;" but the Rev. Dr. Evan Evans, of Philadelphia, a contemporary, in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel, refers to him, and ſpells his name "Read," and he is otherwiſe identified as the ſame who was afterward the diſtinguiſhed lawyer of Boſton. *Vide Hawks and Perry's Church Documents of Connecticut*, Vol. I. p. 38; alſo *MS. Letter* of the Rev. N. Ellſworth Cornwall, of Stratford, March 12, 1895.

[6] Mather Byles was born in Boſton in 1706, and died in Boſton in 1788; graduated at Harvard College 1725. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Univerſity of Aberdeen in 1765. He was the firſt miniſter of the church in Hollis Street, from which he was driven away on account of his loyalty to the Britiſh crown.

[7] Joſeph Green was born in 1706, graduated at Harvard College in 1726, was a merchant, a loyaliſt, proſcribed, and baniſhed; died in England in 1780. He was appointed a Mandamus Counſellor, but declined the honor. Some humorous friend compoſed the following as a ſuitable epitaph:—

"Siſte Viator, here lies one,
Whoſe life was whim, whoſe ſoul was pun;
And if you go too near his herſe,
He 'll joke you both in proſe and verſe."

Among other fragments from Green's pen, he indited a friendly lampoon upon Checkley, which is ſtill extant, and which we are tempted to reproduce. Mr. Checkley, in his beſt eſtate, was not endowed with the grace of perſonal beauty, and, after a ſerious illneſs, the defects of nature were greatly exaggerated. Several of the coterie to which we have alluded accidentally met at his houſe, drawn thither to expreſs their ſympathy and to give him a cheering word. They jeſtingly propoſed that he ſhould ſit for his portrait to Smibert, the diſtinguiſhed Engliſh artiſt, who was then in Boſton, having arrived in the country in the ſame ſhip which had brought to our ſhores the celebrated Dean Berkeley, afterwards the Biſhop of Cloyne. Mr. Checkley readily aſſented. It was then ſuggeſted, to render the gift more attractive and complete, that Green ſhould prepare a ſuitable inſcription to be placed under the portrait. He accordingly inſtantly threw off the following lines, greatly to the merriment of Mr. Checkley and his friends:—

"John, had thy ſickneſs ſnatch'd thee from our ſight,
And ſent thee to the realms of endleſs night,
Poſterity would then have never known
Thine eye, thy beard, thy cowl and ſhaven crown.
But now redeemed by Smibert's ſkilful hand,
Of immortality ſecure you ſtand.
When nature into ruin ſhall be hurl'd,
And the laſt conflagration burn the world,
This piece ſhall then ſurvive the general evil,
For flames, we know, cannot conſume the Devil."

During Mr. Checkley's long reſidence in England both the nation and the church paſſed through ſtirring and trying ſcenes.

ſcenes. A little before that time James II. had put forth the utmoſt ſtrength of his royal prerogative and kingly office to bring back the Roman religion, and eſtabliſh it once more in both the Engliſh Church and State. His efforts to this end in the univerſities, in the courts of law, and in the army, had all proved abortive When he had ſo alienated the people and forfeited their reſpect that he deemed it no longer perſonally ſafe for him to remain in England, he eſcaped into the friendly domains of the King of France. William and Mary were immediately placed upon the throne, with little or no oppoſition. The Engliſh biſhops had manfully reſiſted all the wily ſchemes of the King to bring in the Roman Church. They had borne with firmneſs and dignity the humiliation of arreſt and impriſonment.[8] But now that a new government had been eſtabliſhed, a delicate practical queſtion preſented itſelf to the biſhops and clergy, and, in fact, to every citizen holding office in the kingdom. The new government required an oath of allegiance, and later, on the death of King William, an oath of abjuration. At the preſent day, theſe oaths, in ſimilar circumſtances, might perhaps

[8] King James II., in the year 1687, iſſued his famous *Declaration of Indulgence*, and ordered the biſhops to have it read in the churches. The object of the King was plainly to open the way for the entrance and eſtabliſhment of the Roman Church in England. The Puritans were caught in the ſnare, and favored the Declaration. But the biſhops, fourteen of them at leaſt, refuſed to read it as directed by the King. Only two or three were willing to accede to the King's command. Seven of the biſhops reſpectfully preſented a petition to the King ſignifying their reluctance to publiſh the Declaration. It was ſigned by Archbiſhop Sancroft, Lioyd of St. Aſaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Briſtol. For this act the ſeven biſhops were impriſoned in the Tower of London. The ſympathies of the whole nation were touched by this wanton exhibition of injuſtice. It was the beginning of the end of the King's power. He ſoon after thought it prudent to ſeek an aſylum in France. The courſe of the biſhops ſaved England to the Proteſtant world.

perhaps be taken without hesitation by any office-bearer in the empire. But at that time the old doctrine of the divine right of kings was entertained by the vast majority of the British people. It had come down to them through many generations. It had early been incorporated into the Jewish Theocracy. The pathetic tenderness of David towards Saul, as the Lord's anointed, had been transmitted and engrafted, as a living principle, into the faith of the people. It had been taught in the family, in the schools, from the pulpit. It had grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength. As the fruit of this teaching, eight of the English bishops and four hundred of the clergy could not conscientiously take the new oath. They had solemnly sworn allegiance to James II. He had not abdicated the throne. He was still living. They did not recognize the authority of the convention Parliament in a matter of so great importance as this. While, therefore, they had little respect for the character of James II., they believed him, nevertheless, to be their lawful sovereign, and therefore they could not swear allegiance to another.

In adhering to their conscientious belief they had everything to lose in a worldly point of view, and nothing whatever to gain. They deliberately exchanged the assurance of comfort, ease, and a generous competence, for a life of hopeless poverty and the maintenance of a good conscience. From their livings they were all ejected. The sympathy of good men was naturally touched by their honesty, bravery, and fidelity to their convictions. Mr. Checkley shared this sympathy, and doubtless expressed it with too much freedom, at least for his own personal comfort, as will appear in the sequel.

This

This temporary ſchiſm in the Church of England, growing out of the ejection of ſo many of its clergy, was the neceſſary occaſion of a thorough ſtudy and re-examination of many prominent and practical theological and eccleſiaſtical questions. The nonjurors, though ejected from their livings, could not be prohibited from the exerciſe of the functions of their miniſterial office. They had committed no crime, they had violated no law of the Church, and conſequently the apoſtolic and ſacred office with which they had been inveſted could not be taken away. The ejected biſhops proceeded therefore, doubtleſs unwiſely, to conſecrate other biſhops, and ordain to the lower orders of the miniſtry.

It became neceſſary, therefore, in defence of their proceedings, to ſhow that Epiſcopacy was wholly independent of all civil governments, that its vital functions could not be touched or affected by the arm of civil power, that it was divine in its origin, apoſtolical in its character, and ſanctioned by the hiſtory of the Church, early and late.

Debates on this and other queſtions were going on during the years of Mr. Checkley's reſidence in England. A vaſt number of books and pamphlets, controverſial and didactic, on kindred ſubjects, were iſſued from the preſs.[9] Under the impulſe of his eager temperament and active mind, none of theſe diſcuſſions could eſcape his attention, He fathomed many profound, difficult, and ſubtle queſtions. So far as we can now determine, he arrived at his concluſions by the ſlow proceſs of an exacting logic, a wiſe, careful, conſervative prudence. He rejected numerous ſpecious theories and plauſible

[9] *Vide Hiſtory of the Nonjurors*, by Thomas Lathbury, M.A., London, 1845, pp. 153-303.

plauſible notions, which were freely propagated at that period, and in general accepted only thoſe that have ever ſince been received by a large majority of the beſt theologians of the Church of England.

His ſurvey of the theological works which occupied the attention of ſcholars at that period was thorough and comprehenſive. He was familiar with the whole circle of publications by the prolific ſchool of nonjurors. Among them was the Rev. Dr. George Hickes, of inflexible integrity and profound learning; Jeremy Collier, the accompliſhed and exhauſtive hiſtorian of the Engliſh Church; Charles Leſlie, the ſkilful and voluminous controverſialiſt, who ſtruck hard blows againſt the Roman Church, and equally hard ones againſt Engliſh diſſenters; Robert Nelſon, whoſe work on the Feſtivals and Faſts of the Church is ſtill a text-book in England and in America; and the ſaintly Biſhop Ken, whoſe devout piety and refined Chriſtian ſentiment, as diſplayed in his lyrical compoſitions, place him at once as the compeer of the ſweet ſinger George Herbert.

But there was one other claſs of divines, of a ſomewhat different character, who, on certain ſubjects, were more eſpecially Mr. Checkley's preceptors. For example, Biſhop Hoadly, in his argument on the reaſonableneſs of conformity to the Church of England; Dr. Potter, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on Church Government; His Grace, Archbiſhop Wake, in his edition of the Epiſtles of Ignatius. On theſe ſubjects, in which he was eſpecially intereſted, theſe diſtinguiſhed ſcholars were his teachers. "I am," he ſays in a private letter to a friend, "a diſciple of theſe great men."[10] Thus

[10] *Vide Letter to Dr. Marſhal, poſtea*, Vol. II. p. 166.

Thus equipped with ample ſtores of theological learning, with the addition and complement of a thorough knowledge of Engliſh literature, together with fine claſſical attainments and the enrichment and gracious influences of foreign travel, Mr. Checkley returned to the home of his nativity in the full ſtrength and vigor of his early manhood, to enter upon the ſerious duties of an active, uſeful, but not altogether unruffled and peaceful career.

But the Boſton as he found it in 1710, or thereabouts, was not the Boſton of to-day. It was little more than a large, compact, flouriſhing village. Although the metropolis of New England, its population did not much exceed nine thouſand. Its commercial intereſts were ſmall, and its intercourſe, beyond its own limits, was infrequent and ſlight. A mail was deſpatched to Maine, and likewiſe to Plymouth, only once a week, and to Connecticut and New York not oftener than twice a month. Within the precincts of the town there were eight places of religious worſhip. The members of the Church of England occupied a ſmall wooden ſtructure, ſituated on a part of the ſite of the preſent King's Chapel, on the corner of Tremont and School Streets. A Baptiſt and a French Proteſtant congregation had their reſpective places of worſhip, and the Friends, or Quakers, had erected a houſe for their meetings in Brattle Street in 1697. It had recently been ſold, and one was about this time erected in Congreſs Street. Theſe religious bodies were all ſmall in numbers, and included few men of wealth and perſonal influence in the town. The Governors of the Province, and moſt of the government attachés, were often, but not uniformly, attendants at the King's Chapel, which gave

gave to that pariſh a certain official prominence and influence which did not belong to the others. But the religious influence and wealth were largely included within the four great pariſhes of the Puritan Congregationaliſts of Maſſachuſetts Bay.

The Rev. Benjamin Wadſworth preſided over the Firſt Church, whoſe houſe of worſhip, conſtructed of wood, was near the Old State Houſe, in Cornhill, now Waſhington Street, on the ſite at preſent occupied by the Rogers Building.

The Second Church was in charge of Drs. Increaſe and Cotton Mather, father and ſon, and their houſe of worſhip, likewiſe of wood, was on North Square, their pariſh comprehending the whole north part of the town.

The Third Church was in the care of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, whoſe place of worſhip was an unpretending wooden ſtructure, neſtling, as it were, at the very feet of the Firſt Church, and ſubſequently giving place to the maſſive brick building, with its loſty ſpire, now known as the Old South, occupying the ſite on the corner of Waſhington and Milk Streets.

The Fourth Church was ſituated on the lower part of Brattle Street, and, like all the others, was conſtructed of wood. Its miniſter was the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Coleman.

This rare quartette, at the head of the old Puritan Church, were men of extraordinary qualities, qualities which would render them conſpicuous in any age and in any country. Added to their unuſual natural abilities, they were endowed with ſuperior learning and a devout piety. In doctrine they followed with exemplary ſtrictneſs the precepts of their fathers.

fathers. The early New England divines adopted the theological deductions of Auguſtine, moulded and organized into a theological ſyſtem by John Calvin, and they tranſmitted them through ſeveral generations with ſingular fidelity, without change, modification, or mitigation. They were honeſt and ſincere in their beliefs, and equally bold and inflexible in their exhibition. In the acceptance of theſe doctrines New England was at that time almoſt a unit. If there were any diſſentients they were few and feeble, and were ſoon ſwept away by the ſtrong, ſteady, and irreſiſtible current of an intolerant and narrow dogmatic teaching.

Such was the community, ſuch the ſurroundings, in the midſt of which Mr. Checkley was to make his home on his return to Boſton, not far from 1710.

Mr. Checkley was married by the Rev. Peter Thatcher to Rebecca Miller, of Milton, on the 28th day of May, 1713. Her father was Mr. Samuel Miller, a proſperous innkeeper of that town.[11] Her brother, the Rev. Ebenezer Miller, graduated at Harvard College in 1722, and ſubſequently took orders, and became the firſt rector of Chriſt Church, Quincy, then a part of Braintree. He was honored by the Univerſity of Oxford with the degree of Maſter of Arts in 1727, and that of Doctor of Divinity in 1747.

On the ſecond day of December, 1717, Mr. Checkley purchaſed a houſe and land on the weſt ſide of Waſhington Street, then Cornhill, over againſt the weſt end of the old State Houſe, commonly called, at that time, the Town Houſe.[12] The

[11] The hiſtorian of Milton ſays his manſion was "three ſtories high, ſtately and ariſtocratic. It was one of the beſt of the times." Its location was on the ſouthern ſlope of Milton Hill.

[12] A Town Houſe of wood was erected on

The building was of brick, two ſtories in height, and occupied a part of the preſent ſite of the Sears Building. While the purchaſe was on the above date, Mr. Checkley may already have occupied it for ſome time, as the owner, of whom he purchaſed it, was a reſident of the city of New York. Here he opened a variety ſtore, and named it the "Crown and Blue-Gate." In this little ſhop he ſold books and medicines, and ſuch ſmall articles of merchandiſe as would command a ready ſale in a thriving New England village. About this ſpot cluſtered the life and activity of young Boſton. In the Town Houſe, which was a State or Province Houſe as well, directly acroſs the ſtreet, the Great and General Court held its ſeſſions and carried on its debates; and there the Governor and his Council held their frequent meetings; and in it the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice were often in seſſion; and near here were centred the bookſellers, the ſtationers, and the dealers in ſmall-wares of every kind.

Imagination

on this ſpot in 1658, which was burned in 1711, and a new building, of brick, ſtill ſtanding, and now known as the "Old State Houſe," was erected in 1713. When Mr. Checkley made his purchaſe of his houſe on the preſent ſite of the Sears Building in 1717, the Town Houſe was new, having been built but four years. The fire of 1711 had deſtroyed all the buildings on the weſt ſide of the ſtreet from Court Street to School Street. Theſe ſtructures were all of wood. The new buildings, erected to replace thoſe deſtroyed, were of brick, and were after the ſtyle of the Corner Bookſtore, the only one of them now ſtanding. This bears upon its wall the date of 1712. It is occupied as a bookſtore by Meſſrs. Damrell and Upham.

In Waſhington Street, from Court Street to Rogers Building, occupying the ancient ſite of the Firſt Church, there were in 1717 four eſtates, which are now occupied by the Sears Building. The eſtate on the corner of Waſhington and Court Streets belonged to Benjamin Walker, and had a frontage of 24 feet. The next was Mr. Checkley's, with a frontage of 19¼ feet; the third was Samuel Phillips's, ſtationer, 18½ feet; and the fourth, Andrew Cunningham's, glazier, 16¼ feet. Mr. Checkley's houſe was apparently about where the preſent entrance is to the Sears Building on Waſhington Street. His lot extended back 158¾ feet, and was only 13¾ feet wide at its weſtern extremity.

Imagination eaſily pictures Mr. Checkley's bookſtore as the rendezvous of the ſmall literary coterie to which we have already referred. Here went on, for many years, lively diſcuſſions of topics of local intereſt; Engliſh politics and Engliſh ſcandal; the laſt book printed in London; the recent ſermon of Dr. Cotton Mather, perhaps on election, decrees, foreknowledge, and predeſtination; the eloquence of young Coleman in Brattle Street, whom the older divines were tolerating with a qualified fellowſhip; the new Engliſh church at the north end of the town, the arrival of its diſtinguiſhed rector, the eloquent and learned Dr. Timothy Cutler, who had carried diſmay into the ranks of his friends in Connecticut, by leaving the preſidency of Yale College to take orders in the Church of England.[13]

Mr. Checkley, the ſenior in age of moſt of thoſe belonging to the coterie who frequented his bookſtore, *primus inter pares*, always preſent and always the centre of intereſt, entertained his liſteners doubtleſs with graphic pictures of his travels in Europe, with pathetic ſtories of the ſuffering nonjurors, and if with leſs pathos, doubtleſs with greater earneſtneſs and profounder learning, he unfolded the doctrine of the hiſtoric Epiſcopate, tracing it back to the early fathers, and pointing out its recognition in the New Teſtament, aſſerting, with great poſitiveneſs and vigor of language, its apoſtolic and divine origin and its excluſive character.[14]

Theſe diſcuſſions have not been preſerved, either in manuſcript or print, and they cannot therefore be reproduced in the

[13] *Vide Collections of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society*, Vol. XIV. p. 297.

[14] *Vide A Modeſt Proof of the Order and Government ſettled by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the Church*, Boſton, 1723, *poſtea*, p. 179.

the vigorous language of Mr. Checkley, adorned and pointed as they muſt have been by his keen ſarcaſms, his pithy humor, and his cauſtic wit. But they did not die away as they were uttered within the walls of his little bookſtore. They were too ſtartling and unuſual not to reach a much larger audience. They penetrated everywhere. They were repeated in the drawing-room and in the family circle. The miniſters of the ſtanding order heard of Mr. Checkley's ſtrange doctrines with gravity and alarm. A belief in the apoſtolic origin of Epiſcopacy, and eſpecially its promulgation, was a menace to their order, and to the truth of God as it had been handed down to them from their fathers. They clearly regarded Mr. Checkley as a diſturber of the peace, certainly of their peace, and if they could ſuppreſs and humiliate him, they charitably hoped it would be uſeful to him, as they were ſure it would be a relief and benefit to themſelves.

It was not unnatural that the Puritan miniſters of that day and their followers ſhould feel both annoyed and alarmed. New England was their inheritance and domain. They had held it in full poſſeſſion for ninety years. They had never allowed any interference with their prerogatives. The Baptiſts had been disfranchiſed, impriſoned, baniſhed.[15] The Quakers, ſome of whoſe firſt-comers had been violent and provoking, uſing the King's Engliſh with freedom, were whipped, impriſoned, mutilated, baniſhed, and, for perſiſtence

[15] "*Nitimur in vetitum* was verified in this proceeding, as it uſually is in like caſes. Severity made converts, and then it was thought adviſable to ceaſe from further proſecutions." *Hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts*, by Thomas Hutchinſon, 1795, Vol. I. p. 208.

Since the completion of this Memoir the

ence in reſiding in the Colony after ſentence of baniſhment, ſome of them had ſuffered the penalty of death.[16] Nevertheleſs, neither the Baptiſts nor the Quakers were wholly ſuppreſſed, but ſtill, under unequal privileges, maintained a feeble exiſtence. Carnal weapons were at length oſtenſibly laid aſide. Clipping of ears, the laſh, and hanging were no longer regarded as proper puniſhments for the promulgation of religious opinions, however annoying and damaging to their cheriſhed faith; ſtill the law had its remedy in fines and impriſonments for thoſe who too vigorouſly aſſailed the Puritans, their doctrines, and their uſages, or who forced them to diſagreeable logical concluſions.

In Maſſachuſetts Bay the Puritan miniſters and magiſtrates had been from the beginning actively hoſtile to the Church of England, to its practices, its rites, its ceremonies, and eſpecially to its characteriſtic doctrine of Epiſcopacy. They appear to have proceeded on the old Latin maxim, "Principiis obſta; ſero medicina paratur, cum mala per longas convaluere moras."

As early as 1629, John and Samuel Browne, the one a lawyer and the other a merchant, both members of the Council,

the author has read *The Emancipation of Maſſachuſetts*, by Brooks Adams, and if the reader deſires to ſee the treatment which the Baptiſts received in detail, he will find it outlined very clearly, and with ſufficient fulneſs, in that work, pp. 105–127.

[16] A detailed and authentic account of the treatment of the Quakers will be found in *Hutchinſon's Hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts*, Vol. I. 3d ed. pp. 180–189. In cruelty it rivalled the Spaniſh Inquiſition, in which doubtleſs both the Spaniards and the New Englanders flattered themſelves that they were doing God ſervice.

The extraordinary ſtatements of ſome of the Puritan divines touching the Quakers, and the ſingular defence of their treatment of the Quakers by the hiſtorians, the Rev. Dr. H. M. Dexter, the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, and the Rev. Dr. John G. Palfrey, will be found in *The Emancipation of Maſſachuſetts*, by Brooks Adams, Boſton, 1887, pp. 135–178.

Council, gentlemen of character and reſpectability, had the ſtrange fancy of deſiring to worſhip God according to the dictates of their own conſciences, a privilege which the Puritans were brave in demanding for themſelves, but were not generous enough to accord to others. They accordingly inſtituted a ſervice, in a private house in Salem, uſing the Book of Common Prayer. This proceeding was regarded as ſeditious, and, with little ceremony, theſe gentlemen were huſtled out of the Colony, and ſent back to England.[17]

No Epiſcopal pariſh was organized, or ſervice regularly eſtabliſhed, in any part of New England until 1686. Nevertheleſs, in 1659, twenty-ſeven years before there was any ſemblance of a Church of England ſet up in the Colony, the General Court of Maſſachuſetts Bay thought it expedient to make the following law forbidding the obſervance of Chriſtmas in any manner whatever: —

"For p̄venting diſorders ariſing in ſeuerall places w^th^in this juriſdicc̄on, by reaſon of ſome ſtill obſerving ſuch ffeſtiualls as were ſuperſtitiouſly kept in other countrys, to the great diſhonnor of God & offence of others, it is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that whoſoeuer ſhall be found obſerving any ſuch day as Chriſtmas or the like, either by forbearing of labor, or feaſting, or any other way, vpon any ſuch accounts as aforeſajd, euery ſuch perſon ſo offending ſhall pay for euery ſuch offence fiue ſhillings, as a fine to the county." *Vide Records of the Colony of the Maſſachuſetts Bay*, Vol. IV. Part I. p. 366.

It is impoſſible to conceive that there was at that time, or indeed at any time, a need for ſuch a law. That the few ſcattered

[17] *Vide Hutchinſon's Hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts*, 3d ed., Boſton, 1795, Vol. I. p. 19.

ſcattered Churchmen in Maſſachuſetts Bay were likely to indulge in any unlawful conduct is highly improbable. If ſuch had been the caſe, diſorders thus ariſing could have been eaſily controlled by the ordinary police arrangements, which were abundant and efficient in every part of the Colony. Under theſe circumſtances, the implication cannot be avoided that the object of the law, in the minds of thoſe who made it, was not to prevent diſorders of which there was no danger, but rather to foreſtall any of the Chriſtian obſervances which are wrought into the whole ſyſtem of worſhip in the Church of England, but which the members of the General Court regarded as the offspring of ſuperſtition, and a diſhonor to God.

The character of the law itſelf was cruel and exacting. Under it no obſervance whatever of the birthday of Chriſt was lawful. The day could not be kept by the Churchman in the moſt private way. He could not refrain from his ordinary occupations for this purpoſe without the fear of arreſt and a fine. He might, indeed, call his family together on the day before, and ſay to them, "To-morrow is Chriſtmas Day, the birthday of Chriſt, our Saviour. This great day of the year is obſerved all over the world with appropriate religious ſervices. You remember how pleaſant it was to us when, many years ago, we were in Old England: the merry bells that called us to church; the ſpirit of love and gratitude that filled the ſermon of our good vicar; the joy that beamed on every face; the warm gratulations and kind wiſhes ſhowered upon us by our friends; how we gladdened the hearts of the poor, in our ſmall way, by ſending them ſome token, ſome memorial of the bleſſedneſs that this good Chriſtmas

Chriſtmas commemorates. And we ſhall none of us ever forget how happy we all were when we gathered about our ſimple board, more plentiful and a little better than uſual, that it might fitly repreſent the joy that filled our hearts. We may hope that ſome time this joy may come to us again. We may even now bleſs God for this gracious day, but, at preſent, the law of theſe unhappy Puritans makes it a crime by any act of ours to expreſs, on this day, the gratitude that fills our hearts."

The law thus prohibiting the obſervance of Chriſtmas was paſſed by the General Court of Maſſachuſetts Bay on the 11th day of May, 1659. As the Commonwealth of England was at that time ſtill in exiſtence, under the protectorate of Richard Cromwell, it was naturally ſuppoſed that there would be no objection made by the home government to a law ſo utterly at variance with the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution. Had that form of government ſurvived, ſuch, doubtleſs, would have been the caſe. But two days after the paſſage of the obnoxious law, on the 13th of May, 1659, Richard Cromwell reſigned his office as Protector of England. Charles II. ſoon after came to the throne. On the 28th of June, 1662, the King addreſſed a letter to the Governor and Company of Maſſachuſetts Bay, calling their attention to ſeveral matters which required immediate action. Among the reſt was the following relating to the freedom of worſhipping according to the form and uſages of the Church of England: —

"Since the principall end & foundation of that charter was & is the freedome & liberty of conſcience, wee doe hereby charge & require that that freedome & liberty be duely admitted & allowed, ſo that

that ſuch as deſire to vſe the Booke of Comon Prayer, & performe their devotions in that manner as is eſtabliſhed here, be not debarred the exerciſe thereof, or vndergoe any prejudice or diſadvantage thereby, they vſing their liberty w^th^ out diſturbanc to others, & that all perſons of good & honeſt liues & conuerſations be admitted to the cacrement of the Lords Supper, according to the Booke of Comon Prajer, & their children to baptiſme." *Vide Records of the Governor and Company of the Maſſachuſetts Bay*, Vol. IV. Part II. p. 165.

After a long delay, the Governor and Company of Maſſachuſetts Bay ſent what purported to be a reply, which, however, contained no alluſion to the cardinal paſſages in the King's communication to them. On being puſhed for a definite reply to the demand of the King touching the uſe of the Book of Common Prayer, they finally, on the 16th of May, 1665, three years after their attention had been called to the ſubject by the King, gave the following as their formal anſwer: —

"Concerning the vse of the Comon Prayer Booke.

"Our humble addreſſes to his Maj^ty^ haue fully declared our majne ends in our being voluntary exiles from our dear native country, which wee had not choſen at ſo deare a rate, could wee haue ſeene the word of God, warranting us to performe our devotions in that way, & to haue the ſame ſet vp here: wee conceive it is apparent that it will diſturbe our peace in our preſent enjoyments." *Vide Records of the Governor and Company of the Maſſachuſetts Bay*, Vol. IV. Part II. p. 200.

This anſwer, ſomewhat indirect, is nevertheleſs plain in its meaning. They obviouſly wiſhed to be underſtood that the introduction of worſhip according to the Book of Common Prayer into the Colony would be diſagreeable to them, and

and beyond this they had nothing whatever to ſay. Their intentions they did not care to diſcloſe. The law which they had paſſed againſt the obſervance of Chriſtmas remained on the ſtatute-book more than twenty years, but was finally repealed at the May ſeſſion of the General Court in 1681.[18]

The fixed hoſtility to the Church of England in the Colony of Maſſachuſetts Bay is alſo clearly indicated by various ſtatements made in printed ſermons and other publications, which were freely and widely circulated among the people. A few ſentences or extracts, or the ſimple title of ſome of theſe publications, will be all that will be neceſſary to make the truth of this ſtatement apparent.

In 1650 a volume was publiſhed in London, and circulated in Boſton, entitled a "Treaſure Fetched out of Rubbiſh," conſiſting

[18] The enactment of this law was perhaps ſuggeſted by the action of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, under Cromwell, againſt the uſe of the Book of Common Prayer.

An ordinance was paſſed on the 3d of January, 1645, N. S., aboliſhing the uſe of the Book of Common Prayer, in theſe words, viz.: "that the ſaid Book of Common Prayer ſhall not remain, or be from henceforth uſed, in any church, chapel, or place of public worſhip, within the kingdom of England or dominion of Wales." No penalty was attached to the violation of this law, nor was the uſe of the book in private forbidden. They found, therefore, "little fruit of this ordinance." Accordingly, ſix months later, on the 23d of Auguſt, 1645, the Parliament paſſed a much more ſtringent law in the following words, viz.: "And it is further hereby ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, that if any perſon or perſons whatſoever ſhall at any time or times hereafter uſe or cauſe the aforeſaid Book of Common Prayer to be uſed in any church, chapel, or public place of worſhip, or in any private place or family within the kingdom of England or dominion of Wales or port or town of Berwick, that then every ſuch perſon ſo offending therein ſhall, for the firſt offence, forfeit and pay the ſum of five pounds of lawful Engliſh money; for the ſecond offence, the ſum of ten pounds; and for the third offence, ſhall ſuffer one whole year's impriſonment, without bail or mainpriſe."

This was called *root and branch* legiſlation.

Vide A DIRECTORY FOR the Publike Worſhip of GOD, Throughout the Three KINGDOMES OF *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, Together with an Ordinance of *Parliament* for the taking away of the Book of COMMON PRAYER; &c. &c. London, 1644.

conſiſting of three parts, two of which were written by the Rev. John Cotton, the firſt miniſter of Boſton, the third was by the Rev. Robert Nichols, in which he vigorouſly declaims againſt the uſe of the Surplice, the ſign of the Croſs in baptiſm, and the practice of kneeling in the act of receiving the Sacramental Bread and Wine.

In 1689 the Rev. Dr. Increaſe Mather, one of the ableſt of the early New England divines, and for ſome years Preſident of Harvard College, publiſhed a volume entitled "A Brief Diſcourſe Concerning the unlawfulneſs of the Common Prayer Worſhip, and of Laying the Hand on, and Kiſſing the Booke in Swearing."

The following are ſome of the prominent reaſons alleged for its unlawfulneſs: —

"The cerimonies and worſhip preſcribed therein I find to be in great meaſure Popiſh and heatheniſh."

"Such things are enjoyned in the Common Prayer Booke as (to my conſcience) cannot bee Practiſed without ſin."

"There are ſuperſtitions both recommended and impoſed in the Liturgy."

"In this Age of Light, it would in mee, (and all others ſo educated and inſtructed as I have been) appear to be a great Apoſtacy, ſhould I in the leaſt countenance or comply with the Common Prayer worſhip."

An anſwer to this book was publiſhed in London in 1693. In the Preface the author refers to the humorous report, which ſome wag had apparently put in circulation, that ſundry deluded people of Boſton had broken into King's Chapel to ſearch for the images which they ſuppoſed were worſhipped there!!

In

In 1690 the annual ſermon before the General Court, commonly called the election ſermon, was preached by the Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., the moſt learned, and in ſome ways the moſt diſtinguiſhed divine among the New England miniſters of that period. During the year previous, the members of the Church of England had erected a houſe of worſhip, called King's Chapel, which had been opened for Divine Service on the 30th day of June, 1689. The permanent eſtabliſhment of the Church of England in the town of Boſton was no longer an open queſtion. It apparently ſeemed wiſe and prudent to this great leader of eccleſiaſtical opinion, and watchman on the walls of the New England Zion, to make known to the whole people of the Province, through the members of the General Court, the dangers which were impending over them, and the proper opinion which they ought to entertain towards the doctrines and uſages of the Church of England. The following two paſſages from this ſermon of Dr. Cotton Mather will render this ſufficiently apparent: —

"Let all mankind know, That we came into the Wilderneſs, becauſe we would quietly worſhip God without that *Epiſcopacy*, that Common Prayer, and thoſe unwarrantable *Ceremonies*, which the *Land of our Father's Sepulchres*, has been defiled with; we came, becauſe we would have our Poſterity ſettled under the pure and full *Diſpenſations* of the Goſpel, defended by the *Rulers that ſhould be of ourſelves, and Governors that ſhould proceed from the midſt of us.*"

"There is one thing more to be Done for us; and I ſhall propound it in words like thoſe of the Prophet, *Deliver thy ſelf*, O New-England, *from every thing that may look like a Daughter of Babylon.* I have the confidence to tell you, That the *Myſtical Babylon* is juſt entering into that Vintage which will cauſe horrible and fiery plagues to

to impend over the Heads of thoſe that ſhall have the *Superſtitions of Popery* polluting them. We cannot more conſult our own Welfare than by ſuch an entire and open Departure from *Rome* as the *Holy* God will ſpeedily diſpoſe the *European* World unto. I dare publiſh it, as my Humble Conjecture and Perſwaſion, *That the laſt Slaughter of the Lord's Witneſſes is over;* and that we are got more than two years Depth,[19] into thoſe *Earth quakes* which will ſhake yet, until they haue *ſhaken* the *Papal Empire* to pieces, and *ſhaken* out the very Hearts of them, that ſhall not *come out of her.* If therefore we would be ſafe, at ſuch a Time, the beſt thing to be *Done* is this, *Let us not ſo much as Touch the Unclean Thing, or hide ſo much as a Rag or Pin of a* Babyloniſh *Garment* with us. For the Children of this Countrey to maintain any part of the *Romiſh Worſhip*, would indeed be not only a wild *Indiſcretion*, but alſo a vile *Apoſtacie;* and thoſe perſons are far from *diſcerning the Signs of the Times*, who think it worth the while for them now to forego that Great Anti-papal Principle, *That no party of men whatever, calling themſelves, The Church have any juſt Authority, to appoint any parts or means of Divine*

[19] This is a reference to the revolution in England in 1688, and to the eſtabliſhment of William and Mary upon the throne of England. Dr. Mather was quite ready to hazard a "conjecture" and proclaim his "perſwaſion" that the Roman Church, the myſtical Babylon, was ſoon to fall to "pieces." Claſſifying with it the Church of England, it would be a "wild indiſcretion" and a "vile apoſtacie" to have anything whatever to do with the Church of England. This method of creating prejudices againſt the Church of England by coupling it with the Church of Rome was a common expedient at that time, and continued to be for a hundred and fifty years, but the practice has now pretty much ſubſided.

The reader will obſerve that the Church of England, as pictured in theſe extracts from Dr. Cotton Mather's ſermon, was not quite the ſame as that deſcribed by the Rev. Francis Higginſon, the firſt miniſter of Salem, who, calling his children and friends around him, ſaid, as they took their laſt view of old England on leaving its ſhores: —

"We will not ſay as the Separatiſts are wont to ſay, on leaving England, Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome! But we will ſay, Farewell dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England, and all the chriſtian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatiſts from the Church of England, though we cannot but ſeparate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practiſe the poſitive part of church reformation, and propagate the Goſpel in America." *Vide Magnalia Chriſti Americana*, by Cotton Mather, Vol. I. p. 362. Hartford, ed. 1855.

Divine Worſhip, which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt has not in the Sacred Bible Inſtituted. Let us keep the *ſecond Commandment*, and our God will *ſhow Mercy* to us, for more than one Generation. If we cannot find that any *Forms of Prayer* were uſed in any part of the Church until about *Four Hundred* years after Chriſt; nor any made for more than ſome ſingle Province, until *Six hundred* years; nor any *im*poſed, until *Eight hundred*, when all manner of Abominations were introduced; ſurely it becomes *Us* to be particularly Averſe unto *ſuch* as may have ſomewhat worſe than their *Novelty*, to create our ſuſpicion of them; and it becomes us much more to be *Non Conformiſts* unto ſuch other *Church Rites* therein adviſed, as was not ſo much as conceived, until the *Man of Sin* was born. Could I ſpeak with a voice as loud as the *Laſt Trumpet*, I ſhould not fear to tell you, The *God of our Fathers* will blaſt that *Worldly Wiſdom* which counts it a conveniency for us to Diſſemble our *Non Conformity* to whatever *vain Worſhip*, has nothing but the *Tradition of men* to Warrant it."[20] *Vide* a Diſcourſe made unto the General Court at the Election, May 28, 1690, pp. 31–52.

Of this blaſt of Dr. Cotton Mather's ſonorous trumpet it may be juſtly ſaid, it gave no uncertain ſound.

Of the prominent laymen among the New England Puritans

[20] This diſcourſe, widely diſſeminated, muſt have had, as it was plainly intended, a very powerful effect in deepening the prejudice againſt the pariſh of King's Chapel, which had juſt been eſtabliſhed in Boſton, as well as againſt the Church of England generally.

If the reader is curious to know how early liturgical ſervices, or precompoſed forms of prayer were uſed in Chriſtian worſhip, he will find an authentic and ſatisfactory treatment of the ſubject in an introductory chapter in a work entitled *A Rational Illuſtration of the Book of Common Prayer*, by Charles Wheatley. It was firſt publiſhed in 1714, and has paſſed through a vaſt number of editions. The laſt of which I have any knowledge appeared in London in 1862. Doubtleſs others have been iſſued ſince. Dr. Mather's hypothetical form of ſtatement was a fine achievement of rhetoric. It offered a method of producing an impreſſion on the minds of his hearers that no forms of prayer were uſed until about four hundred years after Chriſt, while he did not dare in conſcience to ſay directly that none were uſed at a much earlier period.

Puritans of the laſt part of the ſeventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries, Samuel Sewall was among the moſt conſpicuous. A graduate of Harvard College, a ſuperior claſſical ſcholar, he held the office of Chief Juſtice of the Supreme Court, and numerous inferior offices for many years in the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay. He was a man of a comprehenſive and well-balanced mind, of the higheſt probity, of a clear and diſcerning judgment, kind and beneficent, exceedingly devout, and conſcientiouſly loyal to the ſpirit and letter of the teaching which he had received from his early youth up to his riper manhood. In his Diary and Letter-book we get many glimpſes of the deeply ſeated prejudice and fixed feeling of hoſtility and hatred which he entertained againſt the Church of England, and which governed his conduct whenever he was called upon to act with reference to the doctrines and uſages of that church.

Theſe prejudices were common both to miniſters and laymen throughout the whole domain of New England. We are under great obligation to Judge Sewall for putting them on record. They were the natural outcome and legitimate fruit of their education, of the forces that ſurrounded them. From theſe prejudices there was no eſcape. The whole New England people were held by them as in an iron graſp; they ſeemed to be under a ſpell from which no earthly power could ſet them free.

The force of theſe prejudices will be apparent from a few citations from the ſources above mentioned.

When the ſervices of the Church of England were firſt introduced into Boſton, having no church edifice, the favor was ſolicited of holding ſervice in one of the Congregational meeting-houſes.

meeting-houſes. Under the date of December 21, 1686, Sewall makes the following entry: —

"There is a Meeting at Mr. Allen's,[21] of the Miniſters and four of each Congregation, to conſider what anſwer to giue to the Governour; and 'twas agreed that could not with a good conſcienſe conſent that our Meeting-Houſes ſhould be made uſe of for the Common-Prayer Worſhip." *Vide Sewall's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 162.

December 25, 1685. "Carts come to Town and Shops open as is uſual. Some ſomehow obſerve the day; but are vexed I believe that the Body of the People profane it, and, bleſſed be God, no Authority yet to compell them to keep it." *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 114.

December 31, 1685. Mr. Allen preaches. "Spoke againſt Obſerving the 25 Inſtant, called it Antichriſtian Heriſie: Spoke againſt the Name." *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 115.

In 1688 the members of the Church of England deſired to purchaſe a piece of land on which to place a church which they were about to erect. They applied to Judge Sewall for a lot at Cotton-Hill, which belonged to his family, and of which he had charge. The reaſons he gave for declining to ſell indicate his feeling towards the Church of England:

"March 28, 1688. Capt Davis ſpake to me for Land to ſet a Church on. I told him could not, would not, put Mr Cotton's Land to ſuch an uſe, and beſides 'twas entail'd.[22] After, Mr Randolph[23] ſaw

[21] The Rev. James Allen, miniſter of the firſt Congregational Church of Boſton from 1662 to his death in 1710. He was educated at the Univerſity of Oxford, and was ſome time a Fellow of New College.

[22] The land deſired was at Cotton Hill, which was the eminence oppoſite King's Chapel Burying Ground. It had once belonged to the Rev. John Cotton, after whom the hill took its name. But it now belonged to the eſtate of John Hull, the mint-maſter of Maſſachuſetts Bay. After his death a life-intereſt in it fell to his daughter Hannah, the wife of Judge Samuel Sewall, and, after her death, it paſſed by law to the three children of Judge Sewall.

[23] Edward Randolph. For ſome account of him *vide The Hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts*

ſaw me, and had me to his House to ſee the Landſcips of Oxford Colledges and Halls. Left me with Mr Ratcliff,[24] who ſpoke to me for Land at Cotton-Hill for a Church which were going to build; I told him I could not, firſt becauſe I would not ſet up that which the People of N. E. came over to avoid; 2d the Land was Entail'd. In after diſcourſe I mentioned chiefly the Croſs in Baptiſm, and Holy Dayes." *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 207.

December 25, 1697. "Snowy day. Shops are open, and Carts and ſleds come to Town with Wood and Fagots as formerly. . . . I took occaſion to dehort mine from Chriſtmas-keeping, and charged them to forbear. . . . Joſeph[25] tells me that though moſt of the Boys went to the Church yet he went not." *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 466.

January 4, 1698–9. "This day I ſpake with Mr Newman about his partaking with the French church on the 25 December on account of its being Chriſtmas-day, as they abuſively call it. He ſtoutly defended the Holy-Days and church of England." *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 491.

When Col. Samuel Shute was Governor of the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay he deſired, in 1722, that the General Court ſhould adjourn, in order that he and others, who wiſhed to do ſo, might obſerve Chriſtmas-day with appropriate ſervices. The following extracts from Sewall's Diary will ſhow what care the Governor took to conciliate, and to ſecure the adjournment

Maſſachuſetts by Thomas Hutchinſon, late Governor. A very large collection of Mr. Randolph's correſpondence has been made by the Prince Society, which will appear in a ſubſequent publication.

[24] The Rev. Robert Radcliff, the Rector of King's Chapel, and the firſt ſettled miniſter of the Church of England in Maſſachuſetts Bay, who arrived in Boſton on the 15th day of May, 1686. He returned to England in July, 1689.

[25] The Rev. Joſeph Sewall, ſon of Judge Sewall, born Aug. 26, 1688, and died June 27, 1769; graduated at Harvard 1707. He was a miniſter of the Old South Church, Boſton from 1713 to 1769. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Univerſity of Glaſgow in 1731. His publications were moſtly ſermons, of which he left a large number.

adjournment with the willing concurrence of the Council, and how ſignally he failed:—

Decr. 19, 1722. "His Excellency[26] took me aſide to the Southeaſt Window of the Council Chamber, to ſpeak to me about adjourning the Gen^{l} Court to Monday next becauſe of Chriſtmas. I told his Excellency I would conſider of it.

Dec^{r} 20. I invited Dr Mather to Dine with me, not knowing that he preach'd. After Diñer I conſultd with him about the Adjournment of the Court. We agreed, that 'twould be expedient to take a vote of the Council and Repreſentatives for it.

Friday Dec^{r} 21, p m̄. The Gov^{r} took me to the window again looking Eaſtward, next Mrs Phillips's, and ſpake to me again about adjourning the Court to next Wedneſday. I ſpake againſt it; and propounded that the Gov^{r} would take a Vote for it; that he would hold the Balance even between the Church and us. His Excellency went to the Board again, and ſaid much for this adjourning; All kept Chriſtmas but we; I ſuggeſted K. James the firſt to Mr Dudley, how he boaſted what a pure church he had; and they did not keep Yule nor Paſch.

Mr Dudley[27] aſk'd if the Scots kept Chriſtmas. His Excellency proteſted, he believed they did not. Gov^{r} ſaid they adjourned for the Coñencement and Artillery. But then 'tis by Agreement. Col Taylor[28] ſpake ſo loud and boiſterouſly for Adjourning, that 'twas hard

[26] Col. Shute was a diſtinguiſhed officer in the Engliſh Army. He was Governor of the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay from 1716 to 1723. He was a native of London, born in 1653, and died April 15, 1742.

[27] The Hon. Paul Dudley, a Councillor from 1718 to 1736, except for the year 1730, who was at this time one of the judges of the Supreme Court. He afterwards became chief-juſtice. He bequeathed to Harvard College £100, to eſtabliſh what is now known as the Dudleian Lectures, one of which was to be on the validity of the ordination of Congregational miniſters.

[28] The Hon. William Tailor, an active and prominent member of King's Chapel, Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay in 1711; a Councillor from 1714 to 1729; was captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1712; was colonel of a regiment raiſed to take Port Royal. He died in 1732.

hard for any to put in a word; Col Townſend[29] ſeconded me, and Col Partridge; becauſe this would prolong the Seſſions. Mr. Davenport[30] ſtood up and gave it as his opinion, that twould not be Convenient for the Gov^r to be preſent in Court that day; and therefore was for Adjourning. But the Gov^r is often abſent; and yet the Council and Repreſentatives go on. Now the Gov^r has told us, that he would go away for a week; and then return'd and if he liked what we had done, He would consent to it. Gov^r mention'd how it would ap̄ear to have Votes paſſ'd on Dec^r 25. But his Excellency need not have been preſent nor ſign'd any Bill that day. I ſaid the Diſſenters came a great way for their Liberties and now the Church had theirs, yet they could not be contented, except they might Tread all others down. Gov^r ſaid he was of the Church of England. I told Mr Belcher[31] of his Letter to me. He anſwer'd, He thought he had been a Diſſenter then. Gov^r hinted that he muſt be free on Monday becauſe of the Communion the next day.

Satterday Dec^r 22. about a quarter of an hour before 12. the Gov^r adjourn'd the Court to Wedneſday morn. 10. a-clock, and ſent Mr Secretary into the Houſe of Deputies to do it there."[32] *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. III. p. 314–16.

It

[29] Col. Penn Townſend, Chief Juſtice of the Suffolk Superior Court, a repreſentative for many years, speaker of the Houſe, and a member of the Council. Born in 1651, and died in 1727. He was a wine-merchant, and prominent in the affairs of the town for many years.

[30] The Hon. Addington Davenport. He held many public offices, and at this time was a judge of the Supreme Court, which office he held from 1715 to his death, in 1736. He was the father of the Rev. Dr. Addington Davenport, Rector of Trinity Church.

[31] The Hon. Jonathan Belcher, born in 1682; died in 1757; graduated at Harvard College 1699. He was a member of the Council from 1722 to 1727, excepting for the years 1724 and 1725. He was Governor of the Province of Maſſachuſetts and of New Hampſhire from 1730 to 1741. He was ſubſequently Governor of New Jerſey.

[32] In Sewall's Diary, Vol. II. pp. 394–5, the reader will find an incident characteriſtic of Sewall's deep-ſeated prejudice, and his hatred of the Church of England. Giles Dyer, a warden of King's Chapel, and ſheriff of the county, had died, and, according to the cuſtom, the dignitaries and officials attended his funeral. It was in the chapel, and the Rev. Mr. Harris, the aſſiſtant miniſter, delivered a funeral diſcourſe. Judge Sewall

It would be eaſy to cite numerous other ſtatements in early New England publications of the ſame purport. But theſe extracts are ſufficient, I think, to indicate the ſtrength of the prejudice and the perſiſtent and almoſt virulent hoſtility, which prevailed in Maſſachuſetts Bay againſt the Church of England. Whether theſe prejudices and this hoſtility were well founded it is not neceſſary to determine, or even to diſcuſs. That they really exiſted is all we need to know for our preſent purpoſes in this narrative. The fact of their exiſtence is abundantly verified. This hoſtile feeling reached all claſſes and ranks of men. It was active, vigilant, and ſtrong. The miniſters in the pulpit breathed it out in their prayers, and reiterated it in their public diſcourſes. The officials, from the Puritan governor to the obſcureſt ſcribe, uſed the influence of their place to intenſify it and diffuſe it among the people. In ſome it was the hoſtility of a fixed principle, in others it was the hatred of an abnormal zeal. In a few it was exerciſed with the force and energy of both. In all it was narrow and imperious. Outſpoken oppoſition to the popular view was not tolerated, and when it was attempted, if it could not be cruſhed out by any legal proceſs, ſocial oſtraciſm followed as the inevitable conſequence. This was not altogether unnatural. It is what would poſſibly have

Sewall was invited to be one of the bearers, together with Sir Charles Hobby, Col. Hutchinſon, and others. After finding that there was to be a ſermon by the Rev. Mr. Harris, he ſays, "I now began to be diſtreſſ'd." "In the evening [before the funeral] I ſent one to call out Jn° Roberts, and told him it ſo fell out, I could not be a Bearer, and bid him to drop ſuch a word that I had rather wear a pair of Gloves for his ſake." . . . "I have a pair of Gloves ſent me." . . . "All ſeem'd to be for going to hear the ſermon except Major Gen! [Winthrop] and I. Went in to Col Townſend's; when had drunk, the Major Gen! and I went away."

have taken place at that period, in any community in exactly the ſame circumſtances. It required the heart of a lion and the ſpirit of a martyr to breaſt the tide, and ſpeak out, what one honeſtly believed in oppoſition to the prevailing Puritan ſentiment.

There was probably at that time no member of the Church of England in Maſſachuſetts Bay, except Mr. John Checkley, who by education, force of character, ſtrength of will, and conſcientious ſenſe of duty could ſummon the courage to perform the diſagreeable taſk of ſtating plainly, fully, and publicly the doctrines of the Church of England, as he underſtood them, with all their logical and damaging conſequences to the teaching of the New England divines. This Mr. Checkley did, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, with a frankneſs, directneſs, and completeneſs, that proved how heartily he believed the doctrines which he announced, how ready he was to meet any oppoſition on a fair field of dialectics, and to abide the conſequences whether in triumph or in defeat.

In the year 1719, Mr. Checkley iſſued an edition of the Rev. Charles Leſlie's treatiſe, entitled "The Religion of Jeſus Chriſt the only True Religion, or a Short and Eaſie Method with the Deiſts, Wherein the Certainty of the Chriſtian Religion is demonſtrated by infallible Proof from Four Rules, which are Incompatible to any Impoſture that ever yet has been, or that can poſſibly be. In a letter to a Friend. The Seventh Edition. Boſton; Printed by J. Fleet, and are to be ſold by JOHN CHECKLEY at the Sign of the *Crown* and *Blue Gate* over againſt the *Weſt* end of the Town-Houſe. 1719."

To

To this publication was added a tranſlation of the Epiſtle of St. Ignatius to the Trallians, with the following note:—

"S^t *Ignatius*, the author of the Epiſtle, was a companion of the *Apoſtles*, and was taught the Faith of *Chriſt* from their Mouths: He wrote this Epiſtle with many other as He was on his way to *Rome*, where He seal'd the *Truth* of what He had taught and written with his Blood, being caſt to the wild Beaſts: Thus dying a glorious *Martyr* of the ever blessed *Jeſus*.

"His *Martyrdom* was but a few Years after the Death of S^t *John*, who wrote the *Revelations*."

The deſign of Mr. Checkley in this publication was apparently twofold. While it brought to the notice of its readers the argument of Leſlie againſt the Deiſts, which has been regarded as unanſwerable by orthodox Chriſtians down to the preſent time, it placed before them the teſtimony of Ignatius, a companion of the Apoſtles, to the exiſtence, in his time, of the three orders of the Chriſtian Miniſtry, Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons. It was, indeed, an argument for the exiſtence of Epiſcopacy in Apoſtolic times, thrown out in the original document, needing no comment or commendation.

The ſame year Mr. Checkley iſſued another pamphlet, calling in queſtion the Calviniſtic and current view of the doctrine of "Election and Predeſtination," entitled "*Choice Dialogues* Between a *Godly Miniſter* and an Honeſt *Countryman* Concerning *Election & Predeſtination*. Detecting the falſe Principles of a certain Man, who calls himſelf a *Preſbyter* of the *Church* of *England*. By a *Reverend* and *Laborious* Paſtor in *Chriſts Flock*, by *One* who has been, for almoſt *twice*

twice thirty years, a *faithful & Painful Labourer* in *Chriſtt Vine-yard*."

Appended to this publication is the Epiſtle of St. Ignatius to the Magneſians, and subſtantially the ſame note which was introduced at the end of the previous publication. This pamphlet contains neither date nor name of the publiſher. For the omiſſion of the publiſher's name a good reaſon may be eaſily aſſigned. No printer or publiſher could think it expedient to attach his name to a publication, at that time, which aſſailed two fundamental doctrines of the Congregational creed. An anſwer to this pamphlet appeared in 1720 by the Rev. Thomas Walter, an intimate friend of Mr. Checkley, written with great vigor, ornamented with pungent ſarcaſm, and cauſtic wit. In the preface he ſays, "I was the other day very much ſurpriſed to meet with a ſmall Pamphlet wearing the ſpecious and very promiſing Title: Choice Dialogues," &c. &c. It is obvious from this remark that the Choice Dialogues had been printed but a ſhort time before. Walter's brochure was elaborate and learned, and allowing ſufficient time for its preparation, we conclude that Mr. Checkley's pamphlet without date was really iſſued in 1719 or 1720.

On the 2d of December, 1719, a law was enacted by the General Court of Maſſachuſetts Bay, and promulgated on the 11th of that month, by which authority was given to any two or more Juſtices of the Peace to tender to any perſon whom they ſuſpected to be diſaffected to his Majeſty or to his Government, an oath of allegiance and abjuration.

It was denominated "an act in addition to an act entitled an act requiring the taking of oaths appointed to be taken inſtead

inſtead of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremicy made in the fourth year of the reign of the late King William and Queen Mary of bleſſed memory."

The proximity, as to time, in the publication of the two pamphlets, the titles of which we have given above, and the paſſage of the law juſt referred to, is noteworthy and ſuggeſtive. The two, the publications and the paſſage of the law, appear to have a very cloſe logical relation. The one was not only the *poſt hoc* of the other, but apparently the *propter hoc* likewiſe. It was now twenty-ſeven years ſince the original law, requiring theſe oaths, had been on the ſtatute books of England. In all theſe years no exigency had ariſen in the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay for any ſpecial legiſlation for the enforcement of this law. No combination againſt his Majeſty's government had been diſcovered or alleged. No act of hoſtility to it had been detected or reported. The motive which inſpired the enactment of this law, at that late day, ſeems plainly to point to the publication of theſe two pamphlets. They were direct attacks upon fundamental doctrines, which had from the beginning been taught in the pulpits of Maſſachuſetts Bay. It was not unnatural that the miniſters and authorities ſhould wiſh to ſee the author ſuppreſſed and humiliated, or at leaſt his influence limited and curtailed. Mr. Checkley had undoubtedly uſed great freedom of ſpeech. He had, we may well believe, expreſſed a tender ſympathy for the ſuffering and impoveriſhed Nonjurors. He had openly and perſiſtently advocated and defended the doctrines and practice of the Church of England. The Puritan miniſters and prominent laymen could well ſee that theſe new ideas and ſtrange

ſtrange doctrines would be contagious, and gain more or leſs adherents from their own body. They could not be reſiſted by argument or perſuaſion. Mr. Checkley's poſition, his intercourſe and contact with young men, his ability and influence could not be matched by any diſputant which they could put into the field. They muſt look to the ſeat of juſtice for a remedy. They fancied that the new law would miniſter to him a wholeſome leſſon of humility, and that it would ſtigmatize him ſo effectually, as hoſtile to the Engliſh government, that his influence would ceaſe to be dangerous in the ſober little town of Boſton.

Not long after the paſſage of the new law, two or more Juſtices of the Peace preſented themſelves to Mr. Checkley, and informed him that he was *ſuſpected* of being diſaffected to his Majeſty, and his Government, and that it became their duty to tender to him the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, according to the proviſions of the law, which had recently been paſſed by the General Court. Whether this announcement came upon Mr. Checkley as a ſurpriſe we know not; but unfortunately for him, and perhaps for both parties, he was not in a ſubmiſſive ſtate of mind. There is no evidence that he was not at that, and at all other times, friendly and loyal to the Government of George I. He was doubtleſs then contemplating taking orders in the Church of England at ſome future time, when it would be neceſſary to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, which a diſaffected or diſloyal ſubject could not do. He ſubſequently, in a private letter, ſpoke of "that Scandalous Report of my being diſaffected." His conſcious innocence and the falſeneſs of the ſuſpicion naturally awakened in his warm temperament a lively

lively indignation, that he ſhould be ſingled out from among the citizens of Boſton, and without any overt act of diſloyalty or any opportunity to prove his innocence, made to take an oath for his good behavior, who in his own judgment had given no cauſe even for a ſuſpicion of his diſaffection or diſloyalty in the paſt. It is always vexatious to a ſtrictly honeſt man and a man of ſpirit to ſeem to be prevented from doing wrong by ſome conſtraint placed upon him by his neighbors. Such conſtraint is a ſtigma, which moſt men would avoid, if poſſible. The act of taking the oath under the threat of a penalty if he did not, might be conſtrued as a quaſi confeſſion that he was guilty of the charge alleged. For this Mr. Checkley was by no means prepared.

It is eaſy to ſee, in the light of what ſoon after followed, that it would have been far wiſer had he taken the oaths, and thus rid himſelf of further annoyance. But at that time he was not in an attitude of mind for ſuch an act of cool, exalted wiſdom.

To the demand of the magiſtrates he accordingly returned a firm and unheſitating refuſal. He was then informed that he could have the following option, viz., to be incarcerated in the common jail, there to remain, without bail or mainpriſe, for the ſpace of three months, or pay over a certain ſum of money, not exceeding forty ſhillings, for the ſupport of the government of the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay, or become bound with two ſufficient ſureties for his good behavior, and appear at the next General Quarter Seſſions of the Peace, where the oaths would again be tendered to him by the Juſtices of that court in open ſeſſion.

Mr.

Mr. Checkley choſe the latter alternative, and ſatisfactory ſureties were promptly furniſhed.

The next General Quarter Seſſions of the Peace was held in Boſton, in the old State Houſe, on the 5th day of April, 1720, when Mr. Checkley appeared and received the ſentence of the Court. We give a narrative of the proceedings as contained in the Court Records: —

"At a Court of General Seſſions of the Peace begun & held at Boſton for and within the County of Suffolk on the firſt Tueſday of April being the fifth day of the month Annoque Domini 1720.

"His Majeſtys Juſtices Preſent are as followeth viz.:

Penn Townſend	Edward Hutchinſon
Edward Broomfield	Timothy Clark
John Clark	Daniel Oliver
Adam Winthrop	Anthony Stoddard
Joſiah Willard	William Wolſtood
Thomas Palmer	William Hutchinſon
Edward Lyde	Samuel Thaxter
Samuel Checkley	Nathaniel Hubbard
John Valentine	John Quincey
Samuel Lynde	Hebijah Savage

"John Checkley being bound by Recognizance to appear at this time to Anſwer to ſuch matters and things as ſhould be objected againſt him now eſpecially for refuſing to take the Oaths appointed inſtead of the oaths of allegiance & Supremacy &c and alſo for refuſing to take the abjuration Oath as the ſame is called: all which are appointed to be taken by a late Law of this Province in that Caſe made and provided; He the ſaid John Checkley appeared and being now Required by the Court to take the oaths aboveſd puſſuant to the Law aboveſd Refuſed to take the ſame.

"ORDERED

"ORDERED that the ſd John Checkley ſhall pay a fine of Six pounds to His Majeſty toward the ſupport of the Government of this Province, And recognize to his Majeſty in the ſum of one hundred pounds with two Sureties in the Sum of fifty pounds each on Condition that the ſd John Checkley ſhall be of good behaviour towards his Majeſty and all his good Subjects until Such time as he the ſd John Checkley ſhall take the ſd oaths. And alſo pay coſts of proſecution ſtanding committed until his Sentence be performed." *Vide Records of the Court of General Seſſions of the Peace* for April 5, 1720.

From this deciſion there was no appeal. Mr. Checkley paid the fine of ſix pounds impoſed by the Court, and the coſts of proſecution. He entered into bonds of one hundred pounds perſonally for his good conduct towards his Majeſty and all his good Subjects, and Samuel Miller[83] of Milton, innholder, and John Gibbins[84] of Boſton, apothecary, entered into bonds of fifty pounds each, until ſuch time as he ſhould take the oaths required. Mr. Checkley remained under theſe bonds until the 20th day of May, 1724, when, to remove what he called the "*ſcandalous* report of my being diſaffected," he took the oaths and received a certificate under the ſeal of the Province, which he forwarded through his Rector, the Rev. Samuel Myles, to the Rt. Rev. Edmund Gibſon, D. D., the Biſhop of London, to whoſe ſee all the Engliſh Colonies were attached.[85]

In

[83] Samuel Miller, innkeeper in Milton, *vide antea*, p. 12.

[84] John Gibbins was a prominent man in the Church of England in Boſton at that time. On the 2d of September, 1722, he was appointed on a committee to receive ſubſcriptions for the erection of Chriſt Church. Subſequently, in 1728, he was one of the contractors for land on which to erect Trinity Church. *Vide Hiſtory and Antiquities of Boſton*, by Samuel G. Drake, pp. 567, 583.

[85] *Vide* Mr. Checkley's letter to Dr. Marſhal, *poſtea*, Vol. II. pp. 161–66.

In 1721 the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather publiſhed a book in London, entitled the "Chriſtian Philoſopher," in which he gave himſelf the title of "Fellow of the Royal Society." It ſeems to us at this time, and doubtleſs it did to many at that time, as a matter of very little importance whether Dr. Mather was, or was not, a Fellow of the Royal Society. But the honor was then rarely beſtowed, and was greatly prized. Not more than three in New England had been accounted worthy of the great diſtinction. The announcement that Dr. Mather had been honored by memberſhip in that ſociety, by attaching the title in full to his name, was received with much ſurpriſe, and ſome doubted the validity of his claim. Mr. Checkley appears to have been among this number, and had probably expreſſed his opinion with his uſual freedom. It became, therefore, a matter of perſonal intereſt to him to get at the truth, and to be certified whether he was in error or not. He accordingly wrote to Sir Francis Nicholſon,[86] and ſubſequently to the Hon. Edmund Halley, LL.D., ſecretary of the ſociety, to aſcertain whether Dr. Mather was a member. No anſwer to this letter is in our poſſeſſion, and perhaps none exiſts. But Dr. Mather ſays that Mr. Checkley wrote a letter full of "ſcandalous invectives" againſt him, "which was publickly read in the Royal Society." Dr. Mather's memberſhip in the ſociety

[86] Sir Francis Nicholſon was at different times Governor of Virginia, Maryland, and of Nova Scotia, and Lieutenant-Governor of New York, and at this time was Governor of South Carolina. He was by profeſſion a ſoldier, and ſubſequently was made a Lieutenant-General in the Engliſh Army. He was a faſt friend and patron of the Church of England. He was the founder of Trinity Church, Newport. *Vide Memoir of Trinity Church, Newport*, in Updike's *Narraganſett Church*, p. 392.

ſociety has been doubted, and has been diſcuſſed at different periods down to the preſent time. But recently this unimportant queſtion has been apparently ſettled beyond further diſpute. Dr. Cotton Mather, it ſeems, as early as 1713, ſent a communication to the ſociety, containing obſervations on "Natural Subjects," with a deſire clearly expreſſed that he might be made a member. The Council of the Royal Society, accordingly, on the 27th day of July, 1713, by vote recommended him for membership. But his name not appearing on the liſt of members, in 1723 Dr. Mather wrote the following letter to James Jurin, M. D., the ſecretary of the ſociety: —

"Syr: You are better known to me than I am to you; and I congratulate unto myſelf, as well as unto the world, the felicity of your ſucceſſion in the office of *Secretary* to the *Royal Society*. But in order to a mutual better knowledge, I owe you, & muſt now give you, ſome very ſhort account of myſelf; more particularly, with relation to that Illuſtrious Body, whereof I hoped, I had the Honour of being eſteemed a Member. Having the pleaſure of ſome correſpondence with your excellent predeceſſor Mr. Waller, I did communicate unto him (and unto my valuable Dr. Woodward) a great number of American, and philoſophical, curioſities; with an intimation of my purpoſe to continue the communications. Thoſe gentlemen put the, as unexpected as undeſerved, reſpect upon me, of propoſing me for a Member of the *Royal Society;* and they both wrote unto me, that I was choſen accordingly both by the Council and Body of the Society, on the Anniverſary Day for ſuch election

in the year 1713. — Adding that the only Reaſon of my not having my name in the *printed* liſt of the *Society*, was becauſe of my being beyond-Sea and yet a Natural Born Subject, & ſo not capable of being inſerted among the gentlemen of other Nations.

"Your Secretary alſo, Dr. Halley in the *philoſophical Tranſactions* of 1714 printed my name, with an F.R.S. annexed unto it. Mr. Petiver did the like, in his Naturæ Collectanea; and in his letters to me, he had theſe words, 'Your election ſucceeded without oppoſition, and you were elected after the uſual method of Balloting. The reaſon of your being out of the *printed liſt*, is your not being perſonally here, to ſubſcribe to the orders that ſhould be tendered you;' to which he added congratulations & complements not proper to be by my pen tranſcribed.

"A Diſtinguiſhed, & a diminutive crue of odd people here, when they could find no other darts to throw at me, imagined their not finding my name on the printed liſt of the *Royal Society*, would enable them to detect me of an impoſture for affixing an F.R.S. unto my name, on ſome juſt occaſions for it. And an infamous fellow, whoſe name is John Checkley, a ſorry *Toryman* (that yet had the impudence to write as a Divine) wrote a letter full of ſcandalous invectives againſt me, which was publickly read in the *Royal Society*. This wretched man, ambitious to do the part of a *Divine*, printed here ſome Rapſodies, to prove, *that the God whom* K. William, *and the chriſtians* of New England *have worſhipped*, is the D—l. A young and a bright kinſman of mine, beſtowed ſuch caſtigations on the Blaſphemer that I became thereupon the object of his implacable revenge. But

of

of this matter, I gave Dr. Woodward a more full account, a year and a half ago: Which becauſe I know not whether ever he received it, I now repeat a little of; Relying to your juſtice, if any further indignity of this Nature ſhould be offered me. But, that I may not lay aſide any of the meek, patient, humble diſpoſition with which I ſhould addreſs you on this occaſion, I ſhall keep ſuch Terms, as I uſed unto my Doctor when he had what he required of me upon it.

"I ſhould never have preſumed upon affixing an F.R.S. unto my poor unworthy name, had I not thought, that my Honourable maſters, would have taxed me as guilty of ſome ingratitude unto them for their unmerited favours, if I had always declined it.

"The many treatiſes (many more than three hundred) which Heaven has allowed & aſſiſted me to publiſh (in the midſt of many other conſtant & heavy labours) on various arguments, and in various Dead as well as Living Languages, added unto ſome other circumſtances needleſs to be mentioned, had procured me from ſome Europæan Univerſities, without my ſeeking in the leaſt meaſure for them, the Teſtimonies of the higheſt reſpect that they could ſhow to the meaneſt of men, and among the reſt a *Diploma* for the *Doctorate in Theology*. Upon this I was under ſome temptation unto the vanity of Thinking that it was poſſible the *Royal Society*, alſo might eſteem it no diſgrace, to permit my name among their members. Eſpecially, when my remittances to their Treaſury, might for number (however not for value) be æqual to what they might receive of ſome other members whoſe correſpondence they caſt a kind Aſpect upon. For the embelliſhments wherewith I ſtudied uſually (after

(after the manner of the German Ephemerides), to make my dry & dull ſtories a little more palatable to men of erudition, ſome of your own members, as well as Monsr Tournefort helped me to ſome apology.

"But if after all, it be the pleaſure of thoſe Honourable perſons, who compoſe or govern the *Royal Society*, that I ſhould lay aſide my pretenſions to be at all related unto that illuſtrious Body, upon the leaſt ſignification of it by your pen, it ſhall be dutifully complied withal. I will only continue to take the leave of ſtill communicating Annually to you (as long as I live) what *Curioſa Americana* I can become the poſſeſſor of. For (my Jewiſh Rabbis having taught me, to *love the work*, and have *little regard unto the Rabbinate*) it is not the Title, but the ſervice that is the Heighth, & indeed the whole, of my ambition.

"As a Token of my purpoſes this way, and as an earneſt of a much greater variety, which I propoſe to ſend you by another hand, about a Fortnight hence, I now preſent you with a tedious account of ſentiments & occurrents relating to a ſubject, about which I perceive you are ſollicitous to have the exacteſt informations. At this time, I add no more, but with hearty prayers, to Heaven, that you may be continued long as a great Bleſſing to the world I ſubſcribe

"Syr

"Your moſt affectionate

"Friend and Servant

"COTTON MATHER

"BOSTON, N. ENGLAND
"May 21, 1723.

"Dr. Jurin."

The

The original of the above letter is in the archives of the Royal Society, at Burlington Houſe in London. It was copied under the direction of Mr. N. Darnell Davis, and the copy was afterwards carefully collated with the original. It was printed in the "Nation" of Feb. 18, 1892, and alſo, by permiſſion, in the "New England Hiſtorical and Genealogical Regiſter" for April, 1892.

We give the following note by Mr. Davis, which accompanied its publication both in the Nation and in the Regiſter: —

"In moſt biographical notices of Cotton Mather, that eminent man is ſaid to have been a Fellow of the Royal Society. In ſome of ſuch notices, the ſtatement is emphaſized by deſcribing him as the firſt native-born American who attained to that honor. According to his ſon, there were many in New England who were 'ſo fooliſh as to doubt, nay, to deny, his right to that title.' Cotton Mather's name did not and does not appear in any liſt of the Fellows of the Society. Becoming himſelf uneaſy upon the point, he inquired of the Secretary to the Royal Society whether he really was a Fellow. In reply, he was informed that he had been elected a Fellow both by the Council and by the general body of Fellows. That his name did not appear in the publiſhed liſt was due, he was told, to the fact that, being in America, he was unable to ſubſcribe perſonally to the orders of the Society, from which foreigners were diſpenſed, but not Britiſh ſubjects. Years went by, and ſtill Cotton Mather felt uncertain of his poſition. On May 21, 1723, he wrote the ſubjoined letter to Dr. Jurin, then Secretary of the Royal Society.

"The anſwer to the above letter ſhould be intereſting. There is, however, no record of it in the archives of the Royal Society. Under the circumſtances, it will be well to inquire how far the proceedings of the Society eſtabliſhed the fact of Cotton Mather's connection with it.

"For

"For the election of Fellows, the ordinary procedure obſerved by the Royal Society is this: The names are firſt ſubmitted to the Council of the Society. After candidates have by the Council been choſen for ſubmiſſion at a general meeting of Fellows, their names are brought before ſuch meeting. Here the election is made, and two-thirds of the votes are neceſſary to ſecure it.

"In the Journal of the Society there is the following entry, under date of July 23, 1713:—

"'A letter drawn up by Mr. Waller for Mr. Cotton Mather at Boſton in New England was read; giving an account of the receipt of his letter and his manuſcript, containing his ſeveral obſervations on Natural ſubjects, with an invitation to a future correſpondence; which was ordered to be ſent.

"'Mr. Waller propoſed the ſame gentleman as a candidate, according to his deſire mentioned in his ſaid letter; which was referred to the next Council.'

"The Minutes of the Council of July 27, 1713, record that 'Mr. Cotton Mather was propoſed, balloted for, and approved to be a Member of the Society.' A diligent ſearch among the records of the Society has, however, failed to find that Cotton Mather's name was ever ſubmitted to the general body of Fellows. Would it be an undue ſurmiſe to ſuſpect that Cotton Mather's miſtaken zeal in the witchcraft hereſy ſtood in the way of his obtaining a two-thirds vote, and that, the Council finding this the caſe, did not riſk a rejection?"

There appears to be no valid reaſon why Dr. Cotton Mather was not qualified to be a member of the Royal Society. His vaſt learning was univerſally admitted. His induſtry in iſſuing three hundred or more publications was unparalleled. That his general aim and purpoſe was to be uſeful in his office and vocation is the verdict of the majority of unprejudiced minds. But he was, it muſt be admitted, pedantic, pompous, ſupercilious. He was imprudent and haſty,

haſty, and uſed language unadviſedly. He calls Robert Calef, who was an honeſt oppoſer of the witchcraft furor, *Calf, a vile tool, malicious* adverſary.[87] This language was indecorous and libellous. He became unpopular where he was beſt known. His "miſtaken zeal in the witchcraft hereſy" may, as Mr. Davis ſuggeſts, have ſtood in the way of his election by the fellows of the Royal Society. But in addition to this, his Sermon before the General Court in Boſton in 1690 had been publiſhed, and was by no means flattering to the members of the Church of England. His open and violent hoſtility to that Church, and abuſive language concerning it muſt have been known, and could not have gained for him many friends among the Fellows of the Royal Society, who were, we preſume, moſtly prominent members of the Church of England.

If his non-enrolment among the members had been an overſight, or an accident, his letter to Dr. Jurin was not likely to ſecure, if read to the Society, a correction of the error. The terms which he applies to Mr. Checkley, "*infamous*," "*blaſphemer*," and "*Toryman*," were unfortunate, and the application of them was impolitic. Mr. Checkley was well and favorably known to prominent men in England, and ſuch allegations, bad in ſpirit and worſe in veracity, could only work harm to their author. If Mr. Checkley was

[87] *Vide Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard Univerſity*, by John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III. p. 17. Robert Calef was a merchant of Boſton, of excellent character and ſtanding. He had the bravery to publiſh a book againſt witchcraft when the furor of perſecution was at its height. It was entitled *More Wonders of the Inviſible World*, and was in anſwer to Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Inviſible World*. It did much to change the public ſentiment. It is ſaid that Dr. Increaſe Mather, preſident of Harvard College, ordered Calef's book to be burned in the college yard.

was a *Toryman*, it is highly probable that a majority of the Fellows of the Royal Society were ſo likewiſe. This term, applied to a political party in England in *contempt*, was not adapted to ſecure for their author a favorable conſideration.

The charge that Mr. Checkley "printed ſome Rapſodies, to prove, that the God whom K. William, and the chriſtians of New England have worſhipped, is the D—l," is a very grave one, and ought to reſt on a ſolid foundation. The truth is, he printed an able metaphyſical pamphlet againſt the Calviniſm of the New England Divines. The name of King William is not mentioned, even by implication, in any part of the publication, nor does Mr. Checkley charge "the Chriſtians of New England," or anybody elſe, with worſhipping the Devil. The pamphlet ſtates that the Lutherans charge the Calviniſts with worſhipping the Devil, and points out the logical proceſs by which the Lutherans come to that concluſion. The exact language will be found in this volume, *vide poſtea*, p. 152. It is a ſimple recital of an hiſtorical fact, and leaves the inference to be drawn that the doctrine of the Calviniſts may be liable to that interpretation. But Mr. Checkley's perſonal opinion or belief on this queſtion is not given. Whether he can be called a blaſphemer for printing an hiſtorical ſtatement, and whether Dr. Cotton Mather's conſcience was *active* and *true* when he made this extraordinary charge, the reader can judge. The moſt charitable interpretation appears to be that the charge was made in paſſion, and that his conſcience had gone to ſleep.[88]

In

[88] Dr. Cotton Mather's name, notwithſtanding his letter of May 21, 1723, quoted in full in the preceding pages, has never to this day appeared on the

In 1722 Mr. Checkley made a voyage to England, ſailing from the port of Boſton on the 21ſt of November of that year, in the ſhip *Barlow*. This expedition was, in part at leaſt, commercial, as he ſhipped goods to London at the ſame time, but of what kind and to what extent we have no information. His ſtay in England was about eight months; returning, he arrived in Boſton on the 20th day of September, 1723. Beſides giving his attention to his commercial tranſactions, there are intimations that he took ſteps towards entering into Holy Orders. If ſuch was the caſe, he was doubtleſs defeated by his inconſiderate and unwiſe refuſal to take the oaths required by the ſtatute in the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay. This refuſal, founded ſimply in pride, and not in any conſcientious objection to the oaths, left nevertheleſs the implication, at once logical and inexplicable, that he was indeed a Nonjuror. No more ſerious objection to a candidate for Holy Orders could have been offered to the Biſhop of London, who had doubtleſs been promptly informed of his recuſant proceedings in Boſton touching the oaths.[89]

A

the liſt of Fellows of the Royal Society.

The following is intereſting as ſhowing who, in New England, were the early members of that Society: —

"If Cotton Mather may not be reckoned a duly elected Fellow of the Royal Society, who then, of Americans born, is to be reckoned the earlieſt Fellow of that diſtinguiſhed body? On the 11th of March, 1714, the Rev. Mr. William Brattle, miniſter of the Church at Cambridge, New England, was elected a Fellow by the general body of members. On November the 21ſt, 'Sir Hans Sloane propoſed Mr. Elihu Yale, Executor to Dr. Thomas Paget, as a candidate, which was referred to the next Council.' Yale was elected on the 30th of November, 1717, and Paul Dudley on the 2d of November, 1721. In a Liſt of Fellows of the Royal Society, to be found among the Rawlinſon MSS. in the Bodleian (*C.* 437), the names of Brattle (1713–14), Yale (1717), and Dudley (1721) are given, but not the name of Cotton Mather."

Vide Communication by Mr. N. Darnell Davis in the *Nation* of Feb. 18, 1892. Alſo *New England Hiſtorical and Genealogical Regiſter* for April, 1892.

[89] The Rt. Rev. Edmund Gibſon, D.D., who became Biſhop of Lincoln in 1715,

A few months after Mr. Checkley returned to Boston,[40] he caused to be issued a pamphlet entitled "A MODEST PROOF of the *Order & Government* Settled by Christ and his Apostles in the CHURCH BY SHOWING

I. What Sacred Offices were Instituted by them.

II. How those Offices were Distinguished.

III. That they were to be Perpetuated and Standing in the Church. And

IV. Who Succeed in them, and rightly Execute them to this day.

Recommended as proper to be put into the hands of the Laity.

Boston: Reprinted by *Theo. Fleet*, and are to be sold by *Benjamin Eliot* in *Boston*, *Daniel Aurault* in *Newport*, *Gabriel Bernon* in *Providence*, Mr *Gallop* in *Bristol*, Mr *Jean* in *Stratford*, and in most other Towns within the Colonies of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*. 1723," pp. 63.

While the name of the author is not given on the title-page, it was ascribed without contradiction to Mr. Checkley. A wide circulation was immediately given to it both in town and

1715, was translated to London this very year, 1723. He was not likely, new as he was in his office, to favor any application for Holy Orders, if objections were made from any source whatever. Dr. Gibson was born in 1669. and died in 1748. He was a distinguished theologian and antiquary, and was the author of many valuable and learned works.

[40] In a letter to Dr. Marshal, which will be found in another part of this work, *vide* Vol. II. p. 162, Mr. Checkley says he arrived in Boston on the 20th of September, 1723. In a letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *vide Historical Collections relating to the Colonial Church in Massachusetts*, p. 142, the Rev. Dr. Cutler says: "On September 24th past, Mr. Johnson and I arrived safely here, to the great joy of our Episcopal Brethren." As two vessels rarely sailed from London to Boston so nearly together as four days, it seems probable that there was some mistake in the date of their arrival as given by Mr. Checkley or Dr. Cutler, and we may well believe that they all returned in the same vessel.

and country. It cauſed a very perceptible ſtir in the ranks of the intelligent and learned of the Congregational order. It touched principles, practiſes, and intereſts too vital to be paſſed over in ſilence. It was important that an anſwer be made to it, which, in character and ſource, ſhould command univerſal reſpect. After urgent and repeated requeſts, the Rev. Edward Wiggleſworth,[41] who a few months before had been publicly inducted into the office of Hollis Profeſſor of Divinity at Harvard College, entered upon the taſk, and early in 1724 publiſhed an able, learned, and ingenious reply in a pamphlet of ſeventy-eight pages. It was entitled, "*Sober* remarks on a Book lately reprinted at Boſton, entitled A Modest Proof Of the Order and Government Settled by Christ and his Apoſtles in the Church. *In a Letter to a Friend.*"

Like Mr. Checkley's brochure, the name of the author is not given on the title-page, but we are not aware that its authorſhip has ever been doubted.

This was ſpeedily followed by a pamphlet of forty-four pages by the Rev. Jonathan Dickinſon, Miniſter of the Goſpel at Elizabeth-town, the firſt preſident of the College of New Jerſey, and a diſtinguiſhed and influential leader in the Preſbyterian body.[42] This contribution to the controverſy

[41] The Rev. Profeſſor Wiggleſworth was born in 1693, and died in 1765; graduated at Harvard College in 1710. He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from the Univerſity of Edinburgh in 1730. He was the author of ſeveral theological papers, ſuch as the *Duration of Future Puniſhment*, the *Imputation of Adam's Sin to his Poſterity*, the *Doctrine of Reprobation*.

[42] The Rev. Jonathan Dickinſon was born in Hatfield, Maſſachuſetts, April 22, 1688, and died Oct. 7, 1747. He publiſhed many diſcourſes of a controverſial and theological character, ſuch as *Eternal Election*, *Original Sin*, *Saints' Perſeverance*, &c. &c. He was the firſt Preſident of the College of New Jerſey, which was ſituated at that time at Elizabeth, New Jerſey.

verſy was denominated "A DEFENCE OF *Preſbyterian Ordination*, In ANSWER to a Pamphlet entitled, A MODEST PROOF OF THE Order and Government Settled by Chriſt in the CHURCH."

Theſe criticiſms were ſeverally anſwered by Mr. Checkley, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

While the clergy of the Church of England, as well as thoſe of other names, and many of the intelligent laymen, were entertained, and perhaps ſomewhat enlightened, by this ſkirmiſh of the pamphleteers, a heavier ordnance was diſcharged in Boſton, whoſe reſonant vibrations extended far beyond the limits of New England, and created an alarm and indignation among the miniſters of Maſſachuſetts Bay before unknown. This alarm was cauſed by the publication of a book which they regarded as a virulent and libellous attack upon the divine authority and validity of their miniſtry.

The hiſtory of this publication is both intereſting and important. When Mr. Checkley was in England, he purchaſed of a gentleman who had the privilege of printing the works of the Rev. Charles Leſlie[48] the liberty of uſing ſuch of Leſlie's publications as he needed in the compilation of a book

[48] Charles Leſlie was born about 1650, and died in 1722. He was the ſon of the Rt. Rev. John Leſlie, Biſhop of Clogher, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was admitted to Holy Orders in 1680. He was a Non-juror, a man of great learning, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed controverſial writer of his times. He wrote againſt the Deiſts, the Jews, the Presbyterians, Papiſts, Quakers, and others. He alſo wrote upon many political queſtions. Dibden ſays: "No ſingle theological work has perhaps received ſo much applauſe as his *Short and Eaſy Method with the Deiſts*." It has been a text-book for theological ſtudents down to the preſent time. Dr. Johnſon ſays "Leſley *was* a reaſoner, *and a reaſoner who was not to be reaſoned againſt*." *Vide Boſwell's Life of Samuel Johnſon, LL.D.* Boſton, 1807, Vol. III. p. 379, n.

book, which he cauſed to be printed in London and brought with him to Boſton, where he arrived on the 20th day of September, 1723, and put upon ſale on the 27th of February following. The book conſiſts of 132 pages. Its title is, "A Short and Eaſie METHOD WITH THE DEISTS. Wherein the CERTAINTY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION Is demonſtrated, by infallible *Proof* from FOUR RULES, WHICH ARE *Incompatible* to any *Impoſture* that ever yet has been, or that can *poſſibly* be. In a LETTER to a Friend. The *Eight Edition.* LONDON; Printed by J. APPLEBEE, and Sold by JOHN CHECKLEY, at the Sign of the *Crown* and *Blue-Gate*, over-againſt the Weſt-End of the Town-Houſe in *Boſton.* 1723."

For the publication of this book, Mr. Checkley was proſecuted and fined, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. The work bearing the above-named title was a compilation from ſeveral works publiſhed in England. Let us examine it with ſome care, and ſee if we can aſcertain who were the authors of the ſeveral parts.

Mr. Leſlie's argument againſt the deiſts covers forty pages, and is a verbatim reprint from his works publiſhed in folio in London in the year 1721. Then follows "A Diſcourſe concerning EPISCOPACY." Fifty-ſix pages, from the forty-firſt to the ninety-ſeventh, with ſome emendations and omiſſions, are taken, with the exceptions hereafter noted, from a ſmall quarto pamphlet by Leſlie, now lying before me, publiſhed in London in 1698, entitled "A DISCOURSE SHOWING Who they are that are now Qualify'd to Adminiſter *Baptiſm* and the *Lords-Supper*, Wherein the Cauſe of EPISCOPACY Is briefly Treated."

Of

Of theſe fifty-ſix pages, nine are not in Leſlie's pamphlet, and are clearly the compoſition of Mr. Checkley. The remainder of the book, from page ninety-ſeven to the end, is taken from a ſmall pamphlet, of which the author's name is not given, but which nevertheleſs is recommended and prefaced by the diſtinguiſhed and learned Robert Nelſon,[44] whoſe writings are ſtill claſſics both in England and America.

This volume, thus compiled, treating of Epiſcopacy in the moſt ample, thorough, and exhauſtive manner, eſpecially adapted to the meridian of Boſton, was the theme of converſation by the citizens in the ſtreet, in the traders' ſhops, and in ſocial gatherings. The miniſters were ſoon aſſembled in ſolemn conclave. The weak points and the ſtrong points of the book were canvaſſed. It is eaſy to fancy how, in the ſympathetic heat of diſcuſſion, fallacies, aſſumptions, bad logic, and bad rhetoric were diſcovered on nearly every page of the unwelcome book; nor is it difficult to picture the indignation, not unmingled with alarm, that mantled in black clouds the otherwiſe placid countenances of that little band of learned men. Their diſcuſſions were amicable, and in their opinions there were no eſſential diſagreements. The unanimous concluſion was eaſily reached that the book was

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[44] Robert Nelſon was born in 1656, and died in 1715. He was the author of a *Companion for the Feſtivals and Faſts of the Church of England*, *The Practice of True Devotion*, and the *Life of Biſhop George Bull*. Dr. Samuel Johnſon ſays: "The holidays obſerved by our church are of great uſe in religion. There can be no doubt of this, in a limited ſenſe, I mean if the number of ſuch conſecrated portions of time be not too extenſive. The excellent Mr. Nelſon's *Feſtivals and Faſts*, which has, I underſtand, the greateſt ſale of any book ever printed in England, except the Bible, is a moſt valuable help to devotion." *Vide Boſwell's Life of Samuel Johnſon, LL.D.* Boſton, 1807, Vol. II. p. 263.

a deteſtable libel, and that the vender was an equally deteſtable libeller, and that a public odium ought to be put upon the one, and a ſpeedy puniſhment viſited upon the other. The law alone furniſhed the proper remedy for ſuch miſdemeanors.

Three weeks had not elapſed after the book was put on ſale, before the firſt ſtep was taken to call Mr. Checkley to account by a legal tribunal. The Council Records give the following narrative of the proceedings: —

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boſton upon Thurſday, March 19, 1723.[46]

Preſent The Hon W^m^ Dummer Eſq^r^ L^t^ Gov^r^

Samuel Sewall	Edw^d^ Bromfield	Adam Winthrop
Penn Townſend, Eſqrs	Thomas Hutchinſon	Jon^a^ Belcher
	Thomas Fitch Eſq^re^	Jon^a^ Dowſe Eſqr^s^

The Board taking into their conſideration a certain Book lately Publiſhed & Sold in Boſton, entitled, a ſhort and eaſy method with the Deiſts, and obſerving in the ſaid volume many vile & Scandalous

[46] The number of Councillors named in the Charter of 1692 was twenty-eight. That was the number elected ſubſequently. Of theſe, nine, including the Lieutenant-Governor, were preſent. The Hon. Samuel Sewall was a member of the Council from 1693 to 1725; Penn Townſend, from 1703 to 1727, except the years 1708 and 1715; Edward Bromfield, 1703 to 1724. Thomas Hutchinſon, the father of Governor Hutchinſon, was Councillor 1714 to 1739, except 1724 and 1727; Thomas Fitch, 1715 to 1730 and 1734; Adam Winthrop, 1715 to 1728, except 1719, 1720, 1727; Jonathan Belcher, 1718 to 1727, except 1721, 1724, 1725; Jonathan Dowſe, 1718 to 1731, except 1727. *Vide Maſſachuſetts Civil Liſt*, by William H. Whitmore, 1870.

Subſequently to this trial, Governor Belcher, while he was Governor of Maſſachuſetts Bay, addreſſed letters, from which the following are extracts, to his ſon, Jonathan Belcher, Jr., who graduated at Harvard College in 1728, and was, at the time the letters were written, purſuing his ſtudies at the Temple in London. He had connected himſelf with the Church of England, which gave his father great diſtreſs. Whoever reads the *Belcher Papers*, lately publiſhed by the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society, will ſee that the Governor did not hide his religion under a buſhel, but kept it generally blazing on a

ous paſſages not only reflecting on the miniſters of the Goſpel Eſtabliſhed in this Province & denying their ſacred function & the Holy ordinances of religion as adminiſtered by them but alſo ſundry vile inſinuations againſt his Majeſty's rightful & Lawful authority & the conſtitution of the Govt. of Great Britain —

Voted that the Attorney General be directed to draw up a preſentment of the Sd Book as a ſcandalous libel, & alſo a preſentment of the Author or Publiſher thereof, when he ſhall be known, that ſo a Proſecution be had thereon at the next general ſeſſions of the peace for the county of Suffolk & that Robt Auchmuty, Eſqr [46] be

a candleſtick. In one of his letters he ſays: —

"As you grow older I hope you'l grow wiſer. The diſſenters are certainly men of better lives in general than thoſe of the National Chh. I remember a gingle of the late Dr. Cotton Mather which pleaſ'd me as I thought it true, *that the religion of the Chh of England was a lifeleſs religion & an irreligious life;* and I hope you ſpeak with pleaſure of returning to your firſt love. . . .

"Here I can't help mentioning with the greateſt concern & affection to you your conformity to the Chh of England; & witht a previous liſp to me in ſo conſiderable an alteration, it was the greateſt ſolly you could be guilty of, & could I have imagin'd it you had never ſat your feet off your native countrey. It has vaſtly hurt you in your temporal intereſt (I wiſh it ha' n't otherwiſe); it has made all the Diſſenting intereſt *cool* towards you in Engld & here, & in that way it has alſo greatly diſſerv'd me, and your hugging Checkley in the manner you did was a piece of moſt imprudt conduct, — a man that had been a non-juror here for a long time & odious to this whole countrey. Oh, Jona learn to be thoughtfull, cautious & wiſe; but theſe things grieve me & I muſt not dwell upon them. I rejoice that you begin to ſee your ſolly & that you think as formerly that the Diſſenters are the beſt livers. What will it avail a man in the great day of accounts to have had the form of godlineſs without the power? and as to doctrine, I know not wherein the Diſſenters & Chh differ, if the latter will ſtick to their 39 Articles. I ſhall ſay no more on this head, but commend you to ye guidance & teaching of God." . . .

"I have ſpoken ſo fully about your fooliſh conformity that I add no more upon it, but that I think you will be wiſe to come of from it gradually with as much honour as you can." *Vide Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Collections*, Vol. LXVII. pp. 214, 292, 326; also *antea*, p. 30.

Jonathan Belcher, Jr., did not follow his father's advice. Notwithſtanding his pathetic and tender appeal, he ſtill adhered to the Church of England. He became Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia, and ſubſequently Chief-Juſtice of the Supreme Court of that Province.

[46] Robert Auchmuty, a diſtinguiſhed lawyer, was educated at Dublin, and ſtudied law at the Temple, in London. He ſettled in Boſton early in the 18th century. He was a prominent member of King's Chapel, and a Truſtee of the Boſton Epiſcopal Charitable Society at its organization in 1724. His only daughter married Benjamin Pratt, Chief-Juſtice of New York. His ſon, the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D. D., graduated at Harvard College, 1742. He was a miniſter of Trinity Church, in the city of New York. His ſon Robert was a diſtinguiſhed

be deſired to aſſiſt in the S^{d} Proſecution & in caſe of the abſence of the Attorney General,[47] to draw up the Said Preſentments.

Examined by J. WILLARD. Sec^{y}"

It will be obſerved that the Chief-Juſtice of the Court of Seſſions, the Hon. Penn Townſend, and the Chief-Juſtice of the Superior Court of Judicature and Aſſize, the Hon. Samuel Sewall, were members of the Council, and were complainants, or plaintiffs in a certain ſenſe, in the ſuit againſt Mr. Checkley, which was to be tried in the courts over which they reſpectively preſided. This double relation of two of the judges in the caſe would, at the preſent day, be regarded as highly improper, and we imagine few magiſtrates would now chooſe to go into hiſtory as acting in both capacities in the ſame caſe.

On hearing that the Council had ordered a preſentment againſt the book, Mr. Checkley went to the Advocate-General and informed him that he had brought the books in

diſtinguiſhed lawyer and advocate in Boſton, and was counſel for Preſton and the Britiſh ſoldiers engaged in the Boſton Maſſacre. Whether Robert Auchmuty, ſenior, actually took any part in the trial of Mr. Checkley does not further appear from the court proceedings. It is, however, more than probable that he drew up the preſentment, and acted as the proſecuting attorney.

[47] The Attorney-General at this time was John Read, who had been elected, June 25, 1723, and was duly qualified by taking the preſcribed oaths. The intimation of the poſſible abſence of the Attorney-General, and the ſtatement of Mr. Checkley in his private letter to Dr. Marſhal, on the 19th of the June following, that he was in fact abſent, renders it pretty certain that the preſentment was drawn up by Robert Auchmuty, Eſqr., perhaps aſſiſted by Mr. Hews, who had been Mr. Checkley's counſel, but had been appointed to ſupply the place of the King's Attorney. *Vide* Mr. Checkley's letter to Dr. Marſhal, *poſtea*, Vol. II. p. 164, also note 46.

Mr. Read was elected Attorney-General in June, 1724, but he does not appear to have taken the oaths, or to have acted as ſuch for that year. *Vide* note 5, p. 3, also note 60, *poſtea*.

The reader will obſerve that the date of this inſtrument, March 19, 1723, fell into the year 1724, as the civil year then began on the 25th of March, and not on January firſt.

in queſtion from England, and was the ſeller of them. This information to the Advocate-General obliged him to preſent Mr. Checkley as the ſeller of the book; the caſe being perſonal, nothing could be done without his preſence in court, thus affording him an opportunity of defending the book, which he otherwiſe could not have had.

The Court of Seſſions was to be held on the firſt day of April, and Mr. Checkley could only appeal to the Court of Aſſize, which was to be held in May. He deemed it exceedingly important that he ſhould have more time, that he might, if poſſible, obtain ſome order from England that ſhould put a ſtop to the proceedings. By avoiding theſe two courts, his firſt trial by the Court of Seſſions would take place in July, and his ſecond trial, by appeal to the Court of Aſſize, would fall in November. Accordingly, on the 30th day of March, no warrant having been ſerved upon him, he left Boſton, and proceeding beyond the limits of the Province, paſſed ſeveral weeks in Rhode Iſland and Connecticut.[48] At length, the time having elapſed for his arraignment before the court ſitting on the firſt of April, on the 16th of May he returned to Boſton, and on the 20th of the ſame month he appeared before Chief-Juſtice Townſend, and took the oaths, which he had before declined to take, and ſent a certificate of the ſame, under the ſeal of the Province, to the Biſhop of London.

During his abſence from the Province and after his return, he wrote numerous letters to gentlemen of his acquaintance in England, ſoliciting ſuch aid as might relieve him

[48] Mr. Checkley appears at this time to have viſited the Indians in Connecticut along the banks of the Quinnebaug River.

him from the criminal proceedings already in progreſs againſt him. He was doubtleſs induced to ſeek for this aſſiſtance by over ſanguine friends, and as a *dernier reſſort*, although no practical method of relief was probably either ſuggeſted or known. For friends in England to interfere in any way, at that diſtance, and in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, was plainly a difficult, if not an impoſſible, taſk. What efforts were made in his behalf we are not informed. But we know very certainly, if any were made, they were unſucceſsful.[49]

Two days after Mr. Checkley's return to Boſton, on the 18th day of May, the Grand Inqueſt for the County of Suffolk having found a bill againſt him, a Bench warrant for his appearance at the Court of General Seſſions of the Peace, to be holden in Boſton on the firſt Wedneſday of July, was iſſued againſt him, to anſwer to a preſentment for falſely, wickedly, maliciouſly, ſeditiouſly, cauſing to be publiſhed, uttered, and expoſed to ſale, a feigned, falſe, wicked, and ſcandalous libel entitled a "Short and Eaſy Method with the Deiſts," &c.

This warrant was ſerved upon Mr. Checkley by John Darrell, on the firſt day of June, 1724, and he gave bail to appear under a bond of £100, entered into by himſelf and Dr. George Stewart.[50]

But while theſe proceedings againſt Mr. Checkley were in progreſs, he was himſelf by no means idle. At this very time

[49] *Vide* Mr. Checkley's letter in this work, Vol. II. pp. 158–9.

[50] Dr. George Stewart was an active and prominent member of King's Chapel, and a contributor for the maintenance of the organ introduced into the chapel in 1713. It was the firſt uſed in public worſhip in New England. He was warden in 1732–34, and a member of the veſtry ſubſequently.

time he was writing a pamphlet entitled, "A Diſcourſe ſhowing who is a true Paſtor of the Church of Chriſt." It was largely a criticiſm and anſwer to the celebrated diſcourſe of the learned Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton of the Old South Church in Boſton, on the "validity of Preſbyterial Ordination," publiſhed ſome years anterior to this. Mr. Checkley's pamphlet was printed during his firſt trial, in July, 1724, and was done ſecretly leſt it ſhould be made a handle for the forfeiture of his bonds. It is hardly probable that any copies were diſtributed in Boſton at that time. It was a clear, conciſe, logical production, adapted to the comprehenſion of plain people, for whom it was eſpecially intended. Five hundred copies were immediately ſent into Rhode Iſland, where the Quakers and Baptiſts were in the heat of a lively controverſy touching their reſpective theories and beliefs. Mr. Checkley had the ſatisfaction of believing that it proved an antidote to their troubles, and pointed out, to ſome of them at leaſt, a better way.

At the end of the publication above referred to, was this ſignificant note: "Thoſe who have a Mind to ſee the Propoſitions in this ſmall Tract prov'd beyond the Poſſibility of a Reply, are deſir'd to read a Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy, which they may have at the *Crown* and *Gate* oppoſite to the Weſt End of the Town-Houſe in *Boſton*."

This "Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy" which Mr. Checkley was thus advertiſing was the *addendum* to the "Short and Eaſy Method with the Deiſts," and was the identical publication for the ſale of which he was at that time undergoing a trial for libel. It is obvious therefore from this advertiſement that he did not intend, whatever puniſhment

puniſhment might be in ſtore for him, to deſiſt from making known far and wide what he honeſtly believed to be true and agreeable to the conſtitution of the Apoſtolic Church. At the end of the pamphlet he appended, for the inſtruction of ſuch as were not familiar with the teſtimony of the early Fathers to Epiſcopacy, the "Epiſtle of S^{t} Ignatius to the Trallians."

The Court of Seſſions was duly held in July, and Mr. Checkley's trial began on the 14th day of that month.

The preſentment contained ſixteen counts, citing the exact words in the book which the Council and the Grand Jury had pronounced libellous, and by which it was intended to prove that Mr. Checkley was a libeller. For the ſatisfaction of the inquiſitive reader we give the ſpecifications in full and in order, premiſing that each citation is prefaced by ſeveral of the following epithets, viz.: falſe, feigned, malicious, wicked, ſcandalous, and ſeditious.

The following are the citations from the book already adjudged to be libellous by the Chief-Juſtices of the two courts reſpectively before which Mr. Checkley was to be tried: —

I. "And when the Time ſhall Come, as they are the moſt *Honourable* and *Ancient* of all the *Nations* on the *Earth*, ſo will their *Church* Return to the *Mother* Chriſtian *Church*, as ſhe was at Firſt; And *Rome* muſt Surrender to *Jeruſalem*."

II. "WITH the Deiſts, in this Cauſe, are join'd the *Quakers* and other of *Diſſenters* who throw off the *Succeſſion* of our Prieſthood."

III. "I ſhall ſay ſomething at this time by way of Advice to *thoſe Perſons*, who madly think that there is nothing at all neceſſary to conſtitute a *Goſpel Miniſter*, but (what they fondly call) *a good ſtock* of *Gifts*. To theſe mad *Enthuſiaſts*, theſe heady *Impoſters*, whoſe pretended

pretended *Gifts* are in nothing *extraordinary*, except in a furious *Zeal* without *Knowledge*, and a *Volubility* of *Tongue*, which proceeds from a Habit of *Speaking* without *Thinking;* and an *Aſſurance* that is never out of *Countenance;* for ten Thouſand *Blunders*, which wou'd *daſh* and *confound* any Man of *Senſe*, or *Modeſty*, or that conſider'd the *preſence* of *God*, in which he ſpoke: To theſe Men I ſay I ſhall ſpeak ſomething concerning the Qualifications requiſite in a *Goſpel Miniſter.*"

IV. "And conſequently, that the *Rebellion* of *Preſbyters* from under the Government of their *Biſhops*, is the ſame Caſe as the *Rebellion* (for ſo it is call'd, Numb. xvii. 10) of *Korah* and his *Levites*, againſt *Aaron.*"

V. "And here let our *Korahites*, of ſeveral Sizes, take a view of the Heinouſneſs of their *Schiſm.*"

VI. "And indeed, whoever wou'd write the true Hiſtory of Preſbyterianiſm, muſt begin at *Rome*, and not at *Geneva.*"

VII. "As the Neceſſity of *Government*, and the General commands in *Scripture*, of *Obedience* to *Government* do require our Submiſſion to the *Government* in *being*, where there is no *Competition* concerning the *Titles*, that is where no One claims a better *Right* than the *Poſſeſſor.*"

VIII. "Againſt theſe we produce the vaſt Empire of *Ruſſia* (which is greater in extent, than all thoſe *popiſh* Countries before named) *Great-Britain*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and all the *Lutheran* Churches in *Germany*, which will vaſtly out-number both the *Papiſts* and (their kinſmen) the *Diſſenters* of all *Denominations* before mention'd."

IX. "They imitate the coming of *Anti-Chriſt* now approaching."

X. "And now, let me tell our *Diſſenters* of all *Denominations*, that they imitate the *Hardneſs* of the *Jews*, who built the *Sepulchers* of thoſe *Prophets*, whom their *Fathers* ſlew; while, at the ſame *Time*, they adher'd to, and out-did the Wickedneſs of their *Fathers*, in Perſecuting the *Succeſſors* of thoſe *Prophets.*"

XI. "And if ſo, then their *Ordinations* in *Oppoſition* to *Epiſcopacy* are

are not only *invalid* but *Sacrilege*, and *Rebellion* againſt *Chriſt* who did *inſtitute* this *Society*, and gave them their *Charter*, and if their *Ordinations* are null, then their *Baptiſms* are ſo too, and all their *Ordinances*. They are out of the *viſible Church*, and have no *Right* to any of the Promiſes in the *Goſpel*."

XII. "Let then the *Common-wealth-men* and the *Orators* for the *Power* of the *People*, (if they will argue fairly and upon the *Square* with us) ſet down the *Time* when *Monarchy* did *begin* in the *World*, and ſee if this *Clew* will not lead them up to the Diviſion of the *Nations* after the *Flood*, which I am ſure no Man (who has ſeen that Account which *holy Scripture* gives us of it) will venture to ſay, was done by the *People*."

XIII. "What think ye my Friends? Was there ever a Time in the World when all Mankind (all but the Uſurpers!) were all a-ſleep?"

XIV. "Shall then the *Uſurpers* of the *Levitical Prieſthood* be *ſwallow'd* up *quick* into the *Pit*, and is there no *Judgment* of *God* due to the *Uſurpers* upon the *Chriſtian Prieſthood?* Was it *Death* for any but the *Prieſts* to offer the *legal Sacrifices*, and may the *Evangelical Sacrifice* be offer'd, without Offence, by any Hands not *lawfully ordain'd?*"

XV. "Can their *Call*, or their *Conceits* of any Man's *Sufficiency* enable him to take this *Honour* unto himſelf? Is this the *Call* of *Aaron* and of *Chriſt?* No; but it is of *Korah* and our *Diſſenters* who ſet up upon their *Gifts!*"

XVI. "The *Children* of Korah, *Dathan* and *Abiram* were ſwallowed up with *Them*."

The words contained in theſe citations are declared by the indictment to be a falſe, feigned, malicious, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel.

By a careful collation we find the firſt two counts to be in Leſlie's "Short and Eaſy Method with the Deiſts." This work

work was publiſhed in London in 1694, and it had been before the Britiſh public thirty years, during which period its libellous character had not been diſcovered.

The third count in the declaration is partly in the words of Mr. Checkley himſelf, and partly in thoſe of Leſlie. This is the only count in which any of Mr. Checkley's own words are cited.

From the fourth count to the tenth incluſive all are found in a "Diſcourſe wherein Epiſcopacy is briefly treated," by the Rev. Charles Leſlie, publiſhed by him, in London, in 1698.

The remaining ſix counts are in that part of the publication which Mr. Checkley informs us he "took entirely from a pamphlet prefaced and recommended by that great man, Mr. Nelſon."

This refers to the diſtinguiſhed Robert Nelſon, Eſq., whoſe works ſtill hold a prominent place in ſacred literature both among churchmen and diſſenters. With two ſlight variations, not affecting the animus of the citations, the counts containing the charges againſt Mr. Checkley are all taken from works written and publiſhed in England many years before, except one among the ſixteen, which is partly in the words of Mr. Checkley, as we have already ſtated.

We can hardly avoid aſking ourſelves how, during all theſe years, the libellous character of theſe publications eſcaped the notice of the Engliſh Diſſenters, to whom they were firſt addreſſed, and for whoſe illumination they were written.

The

The Court of Seſſions was compoſed of juſtices of the peace. Those preſent at this time were Penn Townſend, Chief-Juſtice, together with Edward Bromfield, Samuel Checkley, William Welſteed, Thomas Steel, John Ruck, and John Campbell.[51]

Of the details of the proceedings at this trial we know little. Who the counſel were on either ſide, or the names of the jury, no record diſcloſes. Mr. Checkley informs us that he was not allowed to ſpeak in his own defence, and that the juſtices ordered the proſecuting attorney to inſiſt upon thoſe clauſes only which charged him with diſaffection to the government, and that they preſumably intended to amend the preſentment, but the verdict, as recorded in the court records, is general, and, in form at leaſt, covers the whole indictment.[52]

A verdict againſt Mr. Checkley was promptly rendered. He appealed, and entered into bonds, as principal, in the ſum of £100, and Gillam Phillips,[53] Eſq., and William Speakman,[54] both of Boſton, in the ſum of £50 each, for his appearance at the Court of Aſſize, to be held in the November following.

Mr.

[51] Edward Bromfield was a Councillor, *vide antea*, p. 55, and was, with Chief-Juſtice Townſend, a complainant as well as judge in the caſe Dominus Rex *verſus* Checkley. No relationſhip has been traced between the Rev. John Checkley and the other Checkleys of Boſton who were prominent in both civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs.

[52] It is clear that John Read was Mr. Checkley's counſel at this trial. He was Attorney-General for 1723, but his term had expired in June, 1724, and this court was held in July following. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Checkley.

[53] Gillam Phillips was a prominent citizen of Boſton. He purchaſed a pew in Chriſt Church among the original proprietors, and was a veſtryman and warden of that church.

[54] William Speakman was ſome time a member of the veſtry of King's Chapel and a warden in 1729. He was one of the early contributors for the erection of Trinity Church, Boſton, and its firſt warden.

Mr. Checkley now devoted himſelf with great aſſiduity to a careful ſtudy of the legal aſpects of his caſe, ſoon to be decided by the higheſt tribunal in the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay. This was not a period of unbroken peace and ſerenity of mind. It brought with it many deep and painful anxieties. The expenſe of a trial in all the courts, in which the verdict was practically preordained to be againſt him, with the branded ſtigma of a heavy fine, and perhaps impriſonment, with a dependent family and a limited fortune, impoſed a painful mental burden, which he alone could appreciate. Nevertheleſs, his moſt poignant ſufferings came from a deep, tender, manly ſympathy for his diſtreſſed wife, who, in his own language, was "almoſt frightened to death by their proceedings."[55] But for himſelf, independent of others, he had neither fears nor regrets. To his mind, the truth, as he comprehended it, muſt be made known plainly and fully, at whatever perſonal inconvenience or perſonal ſacrifice. A conſcious "innocence and honeſty" he regarded as his proper "ſhield and buckler."

The animus which controlled him in the publication of the "ſcandalous" book, may be ſeen in the publication itſelf, on its ninety-ſixth page, as follows: —

"I make no Queſtion, but by this Time, I have made myſelf many Enemies by talking thus freely againſt the *Diſſenters*. But if I have, all that I can ſay is, that I wou'd willingly diſpleaſe no Man, but live at Peace with all the World. God knows my Heart, I hate no Man's Perſon, but would do him all the Good that is in my Power. But if I cannot do him that Good without diſpleaſing him,

I

[55] *Vide* Mr. Checkley's letter to Dr. Bennet, Vol. II. p. 168.

I ought to prefer his Good to the diſturbing him a little; elſe I do not really love him. And if he takes Offence at me for this, it is his Fault, not mine.

"And truly, as to our *diſſenting Brethren* upon the *Point* of *Religion*, I look upon their Caſe with the greateſt *Compaſſion* and *Concern* that is poſſible for the ſake of their *Souls*, which to me they ſeem to hazard upon the greateſt *Uncertainty*, and the moſt *cauſeleſſly* of any on *Earth*."

The tardy weeks of the ſummer and early autumn paſſed reluctantly away. But the calends of November came at laſt. On the 3d of the month, Anno Domini 1724, in the Council Chamber of the Old State Houſe, familiar to all Boſtonians, and within ſpeaking diſtance of Mr. Checkley's own reſidence, the Superior Court of Judicature and Aſſize opened its ſeſſion.

The judges, the jury, and the attorneys were all in their places.

A ſlight draft on the imagination will furniſh a vivid picture of this court-room as it appeared on that criſpy autumnal morning. A few fagots of hickory were blazing on the ample hearth. The arms of the Houſe of Hanover, and portraits of the royal family of England were looking down from the walls of the ſpacious room, to give dignity and authority to the proceedings of the higheſt legal tribunal in the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay. At one ſide, on a dais ſlightly raiſed, ſat Chief-Juſtice Sewall, in his judicial robes and bands, his natural hair white with the froſts of ſeventy-two winters, flowing in rich abundance upon his ſhoulders. On either ſide were the aſſociate juſtices, Benja-

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min Lynde,[56] Addington Davenport,[57] Paul Dudley,[58] and Edmund Quincy,[59] all in their official robes, bands, and wigs. Around a ſpacious table, near the centre of the room, were the attorneys in their citizen's dreſs. Among them was Robert Auchmuty, acting in place of the Attorney-General, by appointment of the Council, and not far removed was the diſtinguiſhed John Read, already the corypheus of the Boſton bar, and near him his client, Mr. John Checkley, charged

[56] Benjamin Lynde, born Sept. 22, 1666, died March 28, 1745, graduated at Harvard College, 1686. He was educated in the law at the Temple in London. He was Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1712, and ſubſequently became Chief-Juſtice of the ſame court. For ſome account of Chief-Juſtice Sewall, *vide* Sewall's Journal as quoted in the previous pages, as likewiſe note 32.

[57] Addington Davenport, born Aug. 3, 1670, died April 2, 1736, graduated at Harvard College in 1689. After holding many civil offices, he was a Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature from 1715 to his death in 1736. His ſon, the Rev. Addington Davenport, was the firſt rector of Trinity Church, Boſton.

[58] Paul Dudley, ſon of Governor Joſeph Dudley, born Sept. 3, 1675, died Jan. 25, 1752, graduated at Harvard College, 1690. He was educated in the law at the Temple in London. He was Attorney-General for many years. He became a Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature in 1718, of which court he was ſubſequently Chief-Juſtice. *Vide antea*, note 27.

[59] Edmund Quincy was born Oct. 24, 1681, died 1738, graduated at Harvard College, 1699. He was a Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature from 1718 to 1736 inclusive. His regard for the Church of England may be ſeen from the following excerpt: "When in Auguſt, 1704, the increaſe of the Rev. Mr. Fiſke's ſalary from £80 to £90 was the burning queſtion in Braintree, Judge Edmund Quincy urged as an argument in favor of the increaſe that the Church of England people would have to pay their proportion, calling Samuel French out of Captain John Mill's houſe, and ſaying to him — 'You know what has fell out in the town, the churchmen are now ſcheming to get a foot in the town; if you will join with us in a vote, we 'll ſuppreſs the churchmen; I have got ſixteen already.'" *Vide Three Epiſodes of Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory*, by Charles Francis Adams, p. 627. It is to be obſerved that when Judge Edmund Quincy with his ſixteen neighbors was laying plans to *ſuppreſs* the churchmen in the Church of England pariſh in Braintree, now Quincy, he was only twenty-four years of age, and his zeal may have been more active and vigorous than at this time, when, at the age of forty-three, he was ſitting as judge on the conduct of a churchman who was by no means eaſily ſuppreſſed. There is, however, ſcanty evidence that the ſpirit of toleration had gained any perceptible ſtrength during thoſe years.

charged with the crime of publiſhing an alleged libellous book, a man ſmall in ſtature, with a high intellectual forehead, a clear eye, and an expreſſion of countenance indicating intellectual force, ſtrength of will, frankneſs, honeſty, and ſincerity. In their proper place ſat the impanelled jury, twelve men of undoubted honeſty and ſagacity, viz., Samuel Appleton, John Wiſwell, Noah Kingſbury, Joſhua Child, Benjamin Ruſſell, Joſeph Wells, Edward Langdon, Ezra Claſs, Seth Baſs, John Cobet, Joſeph Mansfield, and Thomas Verien.

Beſides theſe there were preſent in an unofficial way, we may well believe, the miniſters both of the Church of England and of the Diſſenters, and other gentlemen drawn thither by their intereſt in this extraordinary trial. The chief intereſt centred in the arguments of the learned, able, and diſtinguiſhed counſel on both ſides.

After the uſual formalities, the adminiſtration of the oath to the jurors, the reading of the indictment, the trial was opened by the attorney for the government.[60] Mr. Checkley having

[60] The court records do not ſtate who the counſel were who preſented the caſe of the government, or who defended Mr. Checkley. It is, however, very clear that the counſel for the government was Robert Auchmuty. We learn, from evidence derived from other ſources, that Mr. Checkley's counſel in this trial in the Superior Court of Judicature, was the celebrated juriſt John Read. The argument in arreſt of judgment, made at a later ſtage by Mr. Read, was written out in his own hand and ſigned by him, and is ſtill preſerved in the files of the Supreme Court of Maſſachuſetts. This argument, as well as that of Mr. Checkley, may be found in another part of this work.

It appears by the record that John Read was elected Attorney-General by the Houſe in June, 1724. *Vide Records of the General Court*, Book II. p. 509. It was at firſt no little ſurpriſe that we found him acting as counſel for Mr. Checkley, who was on trial upon a criminal charge. It appears, however, after very careful and extended examination of both the Court and Council records, that he did not qualify by taking the oaths of office for the year 1724, and the reaſon was that the election was illegal. It was neceſſary that the nomination

having admitted that he was the publiſher of the book, it was only neceſſary to ſhow that it contained the libel charged in the indictment. The arguments of the counſel for the proſecution and thoſe by the counſel for the defence are unfortunately not preſerved. After Mr. Read, the counſel for the defence, had been heard, whoſe treatment of the caſe was highly ſatisfactory to his client, Mr. Checkley was himſelf permitted to addreſs the court in his own behalf. His argument was ſubſequently publiſhed, and will be found in another part of this work. As the lower court had virtually, as he thought, acquitted him of the charge of ſcandalizing the diſſenting clergy, Mr. Checkley devoted two thirds of his argument to the charge of attempting to "traduce and to draw into diſpute the undoubted Right and Title of King George to the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the territories thereunto belonging." On this part of the indictment Mr. Checkley was fully acquitted by the jury. The remaining part of his argument was to prove his innocence of ſcandalizing the miniſters of the Congregational order.

It will not be neceſſary here to enter into any analyſis of this extraordinary forenſic effort, which the reader may examine in another part of this work. He does not aim at touching

nomination of the Attorney-General ſhould be made by the Lieutenant-Governor. This nomination was his prerogative. But in this inſtance it had been omitted, probably becauſe the election had taken place without waiting for this formality. The Lieutenant-Governor could not have aſſented to ſuch an election without ſerious prejudice to his prerogative. This he appears to have declined to do. Mr. Read was not therefore Attorney-General for the year 1724, when this court was held, and was therefore quite at liberty to act as counſel for Mr. Checkley in this caſe. *Vide* the intereſting and valuable communication of Mr. A. C. Goodell, Jr., on this ſubject, in the *Proceedings of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society*, Vol. X. 2d Series, p. 287.

touching the ſympathies either of the jury or the court, but evidently deſires to ſtand or fall by what ſeems to him unchanging and irrefutable truth. Rich in all neceſſary learning, clear and logical in ſtatement, dignified in method and ſtyle, he deals ſimply with principles and facts. It would be intereſting to know how the oppoſing counſel could either diſcard his principles, or deny his facts.

The trial was conducted with dignity and propriety, and in theſe reſpects was ſatisfactory to Mr. Checkley. He concluded his argument in the following courteous peroration: —

"*May it pleaſe your Honours:*

I ſhall now conclude, only beg leave to render Thanks for the liberty granted to me, (*which was deny'd me at the Seſſions*) of making ſo particular a Defence; and if in the Proſecution of it, I have ſaid any Thing ungrateful to your Honours, I am ſure you will forgive me, when you conſider, that the nature of the Charge againſt me obliged me to ſuch a manner of Defence.

Wherefore without any farther Apology, I ſhall ſubmit it to your Honours, and to you Gentlemen of the Jury, with all *that* Humility that becomes a Chriſtian. Hoping, nay, being well aſſured, that you will not find *me guilty*, nor *this Book* a Libel."

It is obvious that the argument of Mr. Checkley and that of his counſel made a profound impreſſion on the minds of the jury. Their diſcuſſions muſt have been intereſting. They plainly were not convinced that the book was a libel. Conſequently they were not prepared to ſay under oath that Mr. Checkley was guilty. In this ſtate of mind they naturally deſired to eſcape that reſponſibility. This they could do by returning a ſpecial verdict. By this courſe they would likewiſe

likewiſe eſcape the inevitable denunciations and reproaches of the Puritan miniſters and their friends and neighbors. It was not unnatural, under the circumſtances, that the jury ſhould be glad to caſt the burden from their own ſhoulders, and place it upon the ſhoulders of the judges.

They accordingly returned the following ſpecial verdict:

John Checkley
adfect'
Dom. Reg.

"*The Jury find ſpecially;* viz. *If the Book entituled,* A Short and Eaſy Method with the DEISTS, *containing in it a Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy, (publiſhed and many of them ſold by the ſaid* Checkley) *be a falſe and ſcandalous Libel; Then we find the ſaid* Checkley *guilty of all and every Part of the Indictment (excepting that ſuppoſed to traduce and draw into diſpute the undoubted Right and Title of our Sovereign Lord King* George, *to the Kingdoms of* Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *and the Territories thereunto belonging); But if the ſaid Book, containing a Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy as aforeſaid, be not a falſe and ſcandalous Libel; Then we find him not guilty.*

Att. SAMUEL TYLEY, Clerc."

It will be obſerved that the verdict divides itſelf into two diſtinct parts.

Firſt. It entirely acquits Mr. Checkley of the charge contained in the preſentment of traducing and drawing into diſpute the undoubted right and title of King George to the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and the territories thereunto belonging.

Second. It finds him guilty only on condition that the book containing a diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy be a falſe and ſcandalous libel.

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A plea for arreſt of judgment was immediately entered by his counſel, Mr. John Read, and able arguments were ſubſequently made by Mr. Read and by Mr. Checkley himſelf, both of which will be found in another part of this work.

Chief Juſtice Sewall, as a member of the Council, had been one of the complainants againſt Mr. Checkley, and now he was ſitting in judgment on his caſe. Moreover only two years before this, in a letter to Governor Gurdon Saltonſtall of Connecticut, the Chief-Juſtice ſaid: —

> "I am fully of Mr. Cotton's mind, that Epiſcopacy is that upon which the Fifth Vial is poured out; and he will have hard work that ſhall endeavour to controll that Angel."

This refers to the viſion of Saint John in the Apocalypſe, when he ſaw ſeven angels who had received ſeven golden vials *full* of the *wrath* of God, which they poured out for the puniſhment of men on the earth. "The fifth angel," ſays the ſacred text, "poured out his vial upon the *ſeat of the beaſt*," and his kingdom was full of darkneſs, and they blaſphemed God on account of their ſufferings, but they did not repent.

Epiſcopacy therefore, according to Judge Sewall, was that terrible "beaſt," about which theologians have ſaid ſo much, and about which they know ſo little. Tolerance of ſuch a vile thing, the embodiment of unmitigated wickedneſs, or of its diſciple and defender, could not be a virtue in the eſtimation of the Chief-Juſtice, and doubtleſs this was the ſentiment of the other members of the court, who had been educated in the ſchool of the ſame enlightened prophets.

With this knowledge we can eſtimate, in ſome degree, the difficulties that ſurrounded the court in "maturely" conſid-

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ering the caſe before them. With this inſpired definition of Epiſcopacy could there be any doubt as to the character of the verdict about to be rendered? Whatever explanations might be made, and whatever arguments might be offered, the iſſue could not be doubtful. The reſult might be ſaid to be morally "foreordained."

On the 27th day of November, 1724, the Court pronounced the following ſentence: —

"The Court, having maturely adviſed on this ſpecial Verdict, are of Opinion that the ſaid John Checkley is guilty of publiſhing and ſelling of a falſe and ſcandalous Libel. It is therefore conſidered by the Court, that the ſaid John Checkley ſhall pay a Fine of Fifty Pounds to the King, and enter into Recognizance in the Sum of One Hundred Pounds, with two Sureties in the Sum of Fifty Pounds each, for his good Behaviour for ſix Months, and alſo pay Coſts of Proſecution, ſtanding Committed until this Sentence be performed. ATT'. SAMUEL TYLEY, Clerc."

Mr. Checkley entered into the bonds required, and, as ſureties, Gillam Phillips, Eſq., and George Buckeridge, of Boſton, gave bonds in fifty pounds each. The fine was promptly paid. There was indeed, we confeſs, a grim ſarcaſm in paying a fine of "fifty pounds to the king," as a penalty for defending the church of which the King himſelf was the national head, while in reality the fine went into the public treaſury, and was made practically to lower the taxes of the judges who impoſed it. The irony of facts and the logic of events need no comment!!

Thus ended this judicial drama. To the outſide obſerver it might be regarded as a melodramatic farce. But to the victim himſelf, to the members of the Church of England, to

to the Puritans of Maſſachuſetts Bay, it had the obvious tinge of tragedy. It kindled afreſh the fire it was intended to extinguiſh. It intenſified the hoſtility of both parties, and inſpired hatred, where love and kindneſs and tolerance ought to have prevailed.

There was a period in human hiſtory when freedom in the preſſion of religious doctrines and beliefs could be ſmothered in its birth, and even its memory lingered but a ſhort time in the minds of men. But that period had now paſſed forever.

In this inveſtigation we have endeavored to exhibit the animus that governed Mr. Checkley as derived excluſively from original documents. Whether he was right in his theological and eccleſiaſtical concluſions we have not undertaken to determine. We do not heſitate to ſay, that as we have thus far followed him through the different ſtages of his career, we have been profoundly impreſſed with his ſimple honeſty and guileleſs ſincerity. Our chief aim has been to ſet forth as clearly as poſſible the degree of religious toleration which was entertained and practiſed at the period of our narrative. The intolerance which had prevailed in the early years of the colony had become greatly mitigated and ſoftened. Baniſhment, mutilation, and death were no longer regarded as remedies for diſcordant beliefs. The law and the civil courts had been invoked without ſucceſs. The wiſer Puritans appear to have ſeen this, and henceforth legal reſtrictions and fines were laid aſide, and the truth of both theory and practice in eccleſiaſtical matters, however damaging it might be to the claims of an opponent, was teſted in the open forum of argument and reaſon. This trial

of

of Mr. Checkley was the laſt attempt, ſo far as we know, to prevent the publication of theological and eccleſiaſtical views, with all their conſequences, by legal proceſſes, fines, and the ſtigmas that naturally followed. But the publications of Mr. Checkley, for which he ſuffered ſo much, and which he bore with a commendable dignity and equanimity, made him nevertheleſs the protagoniſt of a great controverſy, which continued through all the years down to the American Revolution, and called forth the beſt talent and the profoundeſt learning of the clergy of the Church of England, and of the Puritan miniſters. But to this controverſy we ſhall have occaſion to refer in the ſequel.

While Mr. Checkley was paſſing through theſe ſevere trials, he was devoting his leiſure moments to the organization of two important inſtitutions, the Boſton Epiſcopal Charitable Society and a Public Library. The former of theſe was eſtabliſhed on Eaſter Monday, the 6th of April, 1724, and in the record of members Mr. Checkley's name is among the Founders. Its charities are diſpenſed to perſons who have been reduced from eaſy or affluent to very narrow circumſtances, and during all theſe one hundred and ſeventy-one years, it has removed depreſſion and anxiety from hundreds of burdened hearts, and given relief to thoſe who were too diffident to aſk a charity, but were nevertheleſs in ſore need of it. Its motto is: *Dare quam accipere.*

At the preſent time the Society has a fund, which has been gradually accumulating, amounting to $94,000; and, during the laſt year, its income of $4,200 has been diſperſed among forty-five beneficiaries.

To

To have been an active founder of such an institution is highly creditable to Mr. Checkley's memory.

Of the public library little is known. There was such a library in the first town-house, a wooden structure, which was burned in 1711. The library subsequently organized, was, doubtless, in the present Old State House, when its interior was consumed by fire on December 9, 1747. It is recorded that "books, papers, and records" were destroyed, and the books may have been, and doubtless were, those of the public library. The only allusion which I find to the existence of a public library in Boston between 1711 and 1747, is in a private letter of Mr. Checkley to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bennet, dated June 15, 1725, in which he says:—

"In a short Time I propose to send you an account of the charitable Society of the Church of England, and of the public Library erected here: the laying the Foundation of both which, I have been (thanks to my good God) the happy tho' unworthy Instrument."

The publication of the condemned book on Episcopacy and the prosecution and trial for the same caused a lively stir among the clergy of the Church of England, as well as among the Puritan ministers, and gave to Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, much trouble and anxiety.

The procedure of Mr. Checkley had the approbation and sympathy of the Rectors of the two large and important churches of Boston, the Rev. Samuel Myles, of King's Chapel,[61] the Rev. Timothy Cutler, D. D., of Christ's Church,

[61] The Rev. Samuel Myles graduated at Harvard College in 1684, received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from the University of Oxford in 1693. He

Church,[62] and alſo of the Rev. Matthias Plant, of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport;[63] and in other parts of New England, of the Rev. James McSparran, D.D., of St. Paul's Church, Narraganſet,[64] the Rev. James Honyman Rector of Trinity Church, Newport;[65] the Rev. Samuel Johnſon, D.D.,

He was Rector of King's Chapel from June 29, 1689, to his death, March 1, 1727–8, a period of nearly forty years. For a full account of his uſeful career *vide Hiſtory of King's Chapel*, by the Rev. Dr. F. W. P. Greenwood, 1833: alſo the *Annals of King's Chapel*, by the Rev. Henry W. Foote, 1882.

[62] The Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler was born in Charleſtown, Maſſachuſetts, about 1683, and died in Boſton, 1765; graduated at Harvard College in 1701; he was a Congregational miniſter in Stratford, Connecticut, ten years from 1709; he became Preſident of Yale College in 1719; in 1723 he conformed to the Church of England, and repaired to London for orders; he returned to Boſton in September, 1723, and became the firſt Rector of Chriſt Church, where he remained till his death, a period of forty-two years. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity both from the Univerſity of Oxford and from Canterbury, England. He was an accompliſhed and eloquent preacher, and diſtinguiſhed for his learning, eſpecially in Oriental languages, in which he had no peer in this country. He ſpoke Latin with fluency, and was thoroughly equipped in the humanities.

In a letter to Dr. Zachary Grey, the diſtinguiſhed annotator of Hudibras, referring to Mr. Checkley's trial, he ſays: "Some good friends in town have made his fines eaſy to him, and, whatever his ſufferings have been, we reap this advantage by it, that we have an inſtance of a bare-faced perſecution, for, by the verdict of the Jury, he is acquitted from any thing ſeditious relating to the Civil Government, and is only puniſhed for detecting their ſchiſm, when the blackeſt and moſt helliſh things are here vented againſt the Church with commendation." This is ſtrong language. Perhaps he had in view Judge Sewall's definition of Epiſcopacy, as given on page 73, the "beaſt," the object of Divine wrath!! *Vide Hiſtorical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Maſſachuſetts*, edited by Biſhop W. S. Perry, p. 663.

[63] A miſſionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts from 1721 to 1753. *Vide Digeſt of the Society's Records*, p. 853.

[64] Dr. McSparran was born in the North of Ireland, but of Scotch deſcent; he was ordained Auguſt 21, 1720, in the Chapel in the Palace of Fulham, by the Rt. Rev. John Robinſon, D.D., Biſhop of London. He was Rector of St. Paul's Church in North Kingſtown, Rhode Iſland, then known as Narraganſett, from April, 1721, till his death on December 1, 1757. He publiſhed a ſermon on the Chriſtian Prieſthood, and a ſeries of Letters of an hiſtorical character entitled "America Diſſected." He was an able preacher and a learned divine. He received the honorary degree of Maſter of Arts in 1709 from the Univerſity of Glaſgow, and in 1731 that of Doctor of Divinity from the Univerſity of Oxford.

[65] The Rev. Mr. Honyman, a Scotchman by birth, was the firſt Rector of Trinity Church, Newport, having been appointed by the Society for the Propagation

D.D., Rector of Christ Church, Stratford,[66] and the Rev. George Pigot of Providence.[67] But there were two clergymen of the Church of England who did not approve of Mr. Checkley's proceedings; viz. the assistant minister of King's Chapel, the Rev. Henry Harris,[68] and the Rev. David Mossom, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead.[69]

Numerous

agation of the Gospel in 1704. He is denominated an "excellent scholar, a sound divine and accomplished gentleman." He died on July 2, 1750, after a long and eminently useful ministry.

[66] The Rev. Dr. Johnson was born in Guilford, Connecticut, Oct. 14, 1696; graduated at Yale College in 1714; received the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1723, and that of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford in 1743. For many years he was Rector of Christ Church, Stratford. He was the first President of King's, now Columbia, College, New York. He was a man of profound learning and great ability. He was the author of numerous publications: an English Grammar, an Hebrew Grammar, a work on logic, and several controversial publications, the titles of which will be found in the Bibliography contained in another part of this work.

[67] The Rev. George Pigot was a missionary of the Venerable Society at Stratford, Connecticut, in 1722; at King's, now St. John's, Church, Providence, 1723 to 1726; and Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, 1727 to 1838, when he resigned, and probably returned to England. *Vide Digest of Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, p. 853. Mr. Pigot published a sermon on the observance of Christmas, in reply to the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead. *Vide* Bibliography, *postea*.

[68] The Rev. Henry Harris became assistant minister of King's Chapel in 1709. An anonymous publication, without date, was issued in 1689, about the time of the erection of King's Chapel in Boston, written by the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather, entitled "A Brief Discourse Concerning the unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship," etc., which was intended to repress the interest lately awakened in favor of the Church of England in Boston. As early as 1704, the Rt. Rev. William King, then Bishop of Derry, published a treatise entitled, "A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God." The Rev. Mr. Harris published a reprint of this work, to which he added an elaborate *Preface*, over his own name, dated, Boston, November 7, 1712.

For much relating to the Rev. Mr. Harris, *vide Annals of King's Chapel*, by the Rev. H. W. Foote.

'*Harris* is under some Attrition for his *unhappiness* (that is the word) in writing his *Preface*, which was indeed almost universally decried." — *Cotton Mather. Vide Massachusetts Historical Collections*, XLVIII. p. 414.

[69] The Rev. David Mossom was Rector of St. Michael's Church at Marblehead, from 1718 to 1726, when he removed to Virginia, and became the Rector of St. Peter's Church in New Kent County, where he remained forty years, till his death in 1767. While in Marblehead by his strenuous efforts and that of the Wardens and Vestry, he obtained an order from Governor Shute which

Numerous letters, both by Churchmen and by diſſenters, not excepting the Lieutenant-Governor, William Dummer, were addreſſed to Dr. Gibſon, the Biſhop of London, on queſtions growing out of this contention, containing ſtatements differing at ſo many points that his Lordſhip wrote an excellent letter to one of the clergy, evidently intending it for all, counſelling conciliation and peace, in which occurs the following ſenſible advice: —

"The repreſentations, which come over hither concerning the true ground and foundation of theſe unhappy differences, are ſo various that I am not able as yet to form any certain judgment about it, nor to ſee who is moſt in the blame. But as in caſes of this nature there is uſually more or leſs blame reſting on both ſides, while paſſion prevails againſt reaſon, ſo I earneſtly entreat and require both ſides to lay aſide paſſion & to think ſeriouſly of peace."[70]

If the Biſhop of London with all the information which came to him from the ſcene of theſe heated debates, could form

which relieved the pariſhioners of St. Michael's from paying taxes for the ſupport of diſſenting miniſters. He addreſſed a letter, Dec. 17, 1724, to the Secretary of the Venerable Society, written in great warmth of paſſion, in which there are numerous errors of fact relating to Mr. Checkley. *Vide Hiſtorical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Maſſachuſetts*, edited by Biſhop W. S. Perry, pp. 168–70.

While at St. Peter's Church, New Kent, according to Biſhop Meade, he had a contention with the clerk of the pariſh, and unwiſely took occaſion to aſſail him in a ſermon from the pulpit. It was the clerk's duty to give out the Pſalm for the choir, who immediately on the concluſion of the ſermon, read the following: —

> With reſtleſs and ungovern'd rage,
> Why do the heathen ſtorm?
> Why in ſuch raſh attempts engage
> As they can ne'er perform?

Mr. Moſſom's miniſtry was not unſucceſsful. He performed the memorable ſervice at New Kent, of joining in marriage George Waſhington and Mrs. Martha Cuſtis, the widow of John Park Cuſtis. *Vide Old Churches, Miniſters, and Families of Virginia.* By Biſhop William Meade. Vol. I. p. 386.

[70] *Vide Hiſtorical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Maſſachuſetts*, edited by Biſhop W. S. Perry, pp. 166–7.

form no "certain judgment," much leſs can we after the lapſe of a hundred and ſeventy years. I ſhall not therefore enter into any diſcuſſion of the ſubject, but ſimply ſtate that the contention grew out of a criticiſm of Mr. Checkley's book by the Rev. Henry Harris in a public diſcourſe delivered in King's Chapel. Some of the friends of Mr. Checkley conceived that in the ſermon Mr. Harris had inſinuated that they were diſloyal to the government, and requeſted an interview with him, which he however declined, but requeſted the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Dummer, who was a diſtinguiſhed diſſenter, to call both parties before him and his Council, compoſed alſo of diſſenters, which he did, and after a full hearing, Mr. Harris was acquitted of any fault, and a commendatory letter was written in his behalf by Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, both to the Biſhop of London and to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts.

In this letter, for both letters were in the ſame words, Mr. Checkley is charged with "diſaffection to his Majeſty;" and it is alſo ſtated that in his book "an indefeazible hereditary right to the Crown was therein advanced, and a parliamentary right oppugned & denied." It is obvious that the Lieutenant-Governor had been reading Mr. Checkley's book, if he had read it at all, through "green ſpectacles," or ſome other irritating or diſtorting medium, as on the trial which occurred a few months later, a jury of twelve men under oath found this charge wholly without foundation. There is no reference whatever in the book to loyalty or diſloyalty to his "Majeſty," nor any alluſion made however remotely to

 "hereditary"

"hereditary" or "parliamentary" right to the Crown. How an honeſt fair-minded Chriſtian man, as he profeſſed to be, could make ſuch a ſtatement, ſo definite and unqualified, and at the ſame time ſo deſtitute of truth, is difficult to conceive.

This eſcapade in King's Chapel, the arraignment of certain members of the pariſh, in a public diſcourſe, was a bold, as well as unfortunate ſtep for the Rev. Mr. Harris. He had been anxious to be advanced to the Rectorſhip of King's Chapel, but his proceedings in this contention were ſo violent, perſonal, and unreaſonable, that he loſt the confidence of his pariſhioners which was never afterwards regained. We ſhall refer to this ſubject more at length in the ſequel.

During the year of Mr. Checkley's trial his aſſailants were not aſleep. They had invoked the authority of the law, but its potency had apparently been leſs deciſive than they had anticipated. It had given currency to the arguments for Epiſcopacy, which they had deſired to ſuppreſs. The queſtion could now only be met, argument for argument, in an open field. Both parties were ready for the ſcrimmage. Eight pamphlets at leaſt, attacking Mr. Checkley's publications, were iſſued from the preſs, bearing the date of 1724, the year of his trial. But it muſt be borne in mind that 1724 Old Style did not end till the 25th of March, 1725, and conſequently there were nearly four months from the completion of the trial to the end of the year. Any publication iſſued after the firſt of January and before the 25th of March, 1725, would bear the date of 1724. Beſides the pamphlets by Profeſſor Wiggleſworth, and Dr. Dickinſon, already referred to

on

on a previous page, another attack upon Mr. Checkley was iſſued by the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft,[71] the accompliſhed miniſter of the Firſt Church of Boſton, entitled the "Ruling and Ordaining Power of Congregational Biſhops or Preſbyters Defended." The Rev. Thomas Walter,[72] the intimate friend of Mr. Checkley already referred to, publiſhed a ſmall volume entitled, "An Eſſay upon that Paradox, Infallibility may ſometimes Miſtake, or a Reply to a Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy. Prefixed ſome Remarks upon a Diſcourſe ſhowing who is a true Paſtor of the Church of Chriſt. By Martin Marprelate."

Mr. Checkley firſt replied to Profeſſor Wiggleſworth's[73] book, entitled "Sober Remarks," in a pamphlet of 73 pages. In the colophon at page 52, is the date May 20, 1724, which indicates that it was ready for the preſs before the final ſteps were taken in his trial. It may not have been iſſued till ſome months later. Before the end of the year however, Mr. Checkley reiſſued this ſame pamphlet with important additions, containing ſtrictures upon Mr. Dickinſon's[74] "Defence of Preſbyterian Ordination," on Mr. Walter's "Eſſay on the Paradox," and on Mr. Foxcroft's "Ordaining Power of Congregational Biſhops." This was a pamphlet of 87 pages. Theſe publications of Mr. Checkley are all reprinted in another part of this work.

Mr. Dickinſon publiſhed a rejoinder, entitled, "Remarks upon the Poſtſcript of the Defence of the Modeſt Proof." Mr.

[71] The Rev. Thomas Foxcroft was born in 1697, and died in 1769: graduated at Harvard College in 1714, and became a miniſter of the Firſt Church in Boſton in 1717. He publiſhed many diſcourſes.

[72] *Vide antea*, note 4, p. 3.

[73] *Vide antea*, note 41, p. 51.

[74] *Vide antea*, note 42, p. 51.

Mr. Nathan Prince,[75] a brother of Dr. Thomas Prince, for many years an inſtructor in Harvard College, publiſhed, "An Anſwer to Leſley and his late Interpolator's Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy." An unknown writer iſſued a "Caveat againſt the new ſect of Annabaptiſts that are great zealots for Dioceſe Biſhops, yet no Great Friends to the Eſtabliſhed Church of England." Another tract was publiſhed, entitled, "The Madneſs of the Jacobite Party in attempting to ſet a Popiſh Pretender on the Britiſh Throne, Demonſtrated."

All theſe publications were iſſued in 1724. The laſt three were not thought of ſufficient importance to merit a reply.

The next year, 1725, the Rev. Mr. Foxcroft rejoined in a ſomewhat extended eſſay entitled, "A vindication of the appendix to the Sober Remarks, being a reply to the Defence of the Modeſt Proof," etc. The ſame year Mr. Checkley ended his part of the Controverſy by a pamphlet, entitled "A Letter to Jonathan Dickinſon."

All had been ſaid that was demanded by the gravity of the queſtion in debate. Indeed more or leſs had been uttered, as is uſual in moſt controverſies, that might well have been omitted. In perſonalities neither party often indulged. Severe epithets

[75] Nathan Prince was born in Sandwich, Maſſachuſetts, Nov. 30, 1698, and died, July 25, 1748. He was a tutor and fellow of Harvard College where he had graduated in 1718. He wrote and publiſhed an account of the conſtitution and government of the college from its foundation to the year 1742. He ſubſequently took orders in the Church of England, and was ſettled on the iſland of Ruatan, in the Bay of Honduras, in the Caribbean Sea, where he died. Dr. William Allen ſays in his dictionary that he was a "greater mathematician and philoſopher, and a much better claſſical ſcholar and logician than his brother," the Rev. Dr. Thomas Prince, the antiquary. He was removed from his fellowſhip in 1742, out of which grew his criticiſms on the management of the college; ſome of his ſuggeſtions have been adopted.

epithets and envenomed words from both ſides were frequently poured out in ample abundance upon the adverſary's ſentiments and concluſions. There was ſome boaſting, ſome threatening diſplay, and conſiderable unwarranted aſſumption. But this was apparently intended for the unlettered and uninſtructed, and not for the erudite and learned. The diſputants themſelves knew full well the weight of each other's armor. They were not ſo blinded by the fog of hoſtile feeling as not to ſee clearly the force of an adverſe logic. But it is no part of our preſent purpoſe to analyze this debate. The whole is on record, and the ſtudent of this hiſtory can drink at the fountain, if he will, either for his entertainment or inſtruction.

The elaborate arguments at the trial of Mr. Checkley, and the lively controverſy that followed left apparently ſome uneaſineſs, ſome ſelf-diſſatisfaction in the minds of the miniſters of the ſtanding order. As clergymen their ordinations had been invalidated and diſcredited, and they had been emphatically told that theirs was not the Eſtabliſhed Church of Maſſachuſetts Bay. This laſt unwelcome truth had never before been proclaimed in their preſence, or at leaſt no argument had been publicly adduced to prove it. It was doubtleſs a new revelation. It came unexpectedly and under circumſtances which gave it great weight. By the trial the rare opportunity had been offered for Mr. Checkley to ſtate fully and publicly not only the argument for Epiſcopacy, but likewiſe what he regarded as the untenable character of their claim to be the Eſtabliſhed Church of Maſſachuſetts Bay. They did not admit that theſe allegations were true, but nevertheleſs they pondered them deeply and ſeriouſly. Dr. Cotton Mather,

Mather, the leading ſpirit among the miniſters, pondered them moodily in his brown old ſtudy. He clearly ſaw an impending danger ahead, and was ſure that ſomething muſt be done to avert the threatening evil. This learned divine never brooded over any great ſubject without bringing forth ſomething of which he deemed himſelf juſtly proud. The outcome of his ſolemn brooding after this trial, was a Synod, a veritable legalized Synod, the like of which had not been held in Maſſachuſetts Bay ſince the advent of the new Charter.

In a convention of miniſters the ſubject was fully diſcuſſed, and Dr. Cotton Mather was deputed to draw up and preſent to the General Court a petition in their behalf, aſking its authority and approbation, which he did in the following words: —

"To the very Hon^ble W Dummer Eſq^r Lieut Gov^r and Com^r in Chief, &^c to the Honerable the Councillors, to the Honoured the Repreſentatives in the Great and General Court of his Mageſty's Province of the Maſſachuſetts Bay aſſembled and now ſitting — A Memorial and addreſs humbly preſented.

At a general Convention of Miniſters from ſeveral parts of the province at Boſton, 27th May 1725,

Conſidering the great and viſible decay of piety in the Country, and the Growth of many miſcarriages, which we may fear have provoked the Glorious Lord, in a law, in a ſeries of various Judgments wonderfully to diſtreſs us; Conſidering alſo the laudable example of our predeceſſors to recover and eſtabliſh the faith and order of the Goſpel in the Churches and provide againſt what immoralitys might threaten to impair them in the way of general Synods convened for that purpoſe, and conſidering that about Forty Five years have now rolled away ſince theſe Churches have now ſeen any ſuch conventions, it is humbly

humbly deſired, that the Honored General Court, would expreſs their concern for the great intereſts of Religion, in the Country, by calling the ſeveral churches in the province to meet, by their Paſtors, and Meſſengers, in a Synod, and from thence offer their advice upon that weighty caſe which the circumſtances of the day do loudly call to be conſidered: What are the Miſcarriages whereof we have reaſon to think the Judgment of Heaven upon us, call us to be more generally ſenſible, and what may be the moſt evangelical and effectual expedients to put a ſtop to thoſe or the like miſcarriages. This propoſal we humbly make in hopes that if it be proſecuted it may be followed with many deſirable conſequences worthy the ſtudy of thoſe whom God has made, and we are ſo happy to enjoy, as the nurſing Fathers of our Churches. COTTON MATHER

In the name of the miniſters aſſembled in their General Convention."

A Synod at that time, called together and authorized by the General Court, was neceſſarily a body poſſeſſing great power and authority. It was ſomething more than a mere conference. It was the creature of the General Court. The ſcope of the one here propoſed, as the reader has ſeen, was indefinite, of almost unlimited comprehenſion, and its deſign purpoſely ſhrouded in uncertain generalities. It might deal with principles of faith, modes of life and conduct, and with church government and orders. If the proceedings of the propoſed Synod ſhould be ratified by the government, as they were moſt ſure to be, it might abridge and limit the liberty of all Chriſtian bodies except that of the congregational order; in fact, it might, and doubtleſs would, have conſtituted that body the eſtabliſhed church of the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay.

The dangerous nature of ſuch a Synod, held under the auſpices of the General Court, was keenly felt by the clergy of

of the Church of England in Boſton. The Rev. Samuel Myles, of King's Chapel, and the Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler, of Chriſt Church, immediately ſent in their objections to the movement. The Memorial itſelf will beſt give their views on the ſubject:—

THE MEMORIAL *of Timothy Cutler, Samuel Myles, Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church of England in Boſton humbly preſented to the Hon^ble^ W^m^ Dummer, Eſq. Lieut Gov^r^ of His Majeſty's Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay; The Hon^ble^ his Majeſty's Council & repreſentatives of the ſaid Province in Gen^l^ Court aſſembled this 10th day of June* 1725.

WHEREAS we are informed that a Memorial has been preſented to this honorable Court & that the prayer of it hath been already granted by the honorable his Majeſty's Council & is now depending in the honorable the houſe of repreſentatives:

Therefore we humbly beg leave to offer the following reaſons againſt the s^d^ memorial.

1^st^. The matter of the petition being general reſpecting ye miſcariages of the whole body of the people in this land it is preſumed to comprehend the Churches of England, wherein the petitioners have no right to intermeddle.

2^nd^. Whereas, by the tenour of the Petition which is to revive the decaying Piety, in Conformity with the Faith & order of the Goſpel, In explication of which general terms the Petitioners refer this Hon.^ble^ Court to a time (45 years ago) when there was no Church of England in New England; We therefore apprehend that the Synod petitioned for is deſigned to prejudice the people of the Land againſt the s^d^ Church, & we have little reaſon to expect that in ſuch a Synod ſhe will be treated with that Tenderneſs and reſpect which is due to an eſtabliſhed Church.

3^rd^. As the Epiſcopal Miniſters in this Province are equally concerned with the Petitioners, for the Purity of Faith and manner in this

this Land it is diſreſpectful to them not to be conſulted in this important affair.

4th. Whereas it is deſired that the ſeveral churches in the Province do meet, &c, it is either an hard reflection upon the epiſcopal churches as none in not including them; & if they are included we think it very improper it being without the knowledge of their Right Rev. Dioceſan the Lord Biſhop of London.

5th. Whereas by Royal Authority the Colonies in America are annexed to the Dioceſe of London, & inaſmuch as nothing can be tranſacted in eccleſeaſtical matters without the Cognizance of the Biſhop, We are humbly of opinion that it will neither be dutiful to his moſt ſacred Majeſty King George nor conſiſtent with the rights of our Right Rev. Dioceſan to encourage or call the ſaid Synod until the pleaſure of His Majeſty ſhall be known therein. — We humbly pray this Honble Court to take the premiſes into their ſerious conſideration.

TIMOTHY CUTLER
SAML MYLES.

In the Council this Memorial was curtly diſmiſſed, with this brief record of their proceedings: —

"Whereas this memorial contains an indecent reflection on the proceedings of this Board, with ſeveral Groundleſs Inſinuations — Voted that it may be diſmiſſed. J. WILLARD, Secretary."

The lower Houſe concurred.

But the Memorial, notwithſtanding this haughty and ſupercilious treatment, nevertheleſs had its effect. It had been carefully drawn in conſultation with Mr. Checkley, and the 5th ſection, which he had propoſed and ſtrenuouſly urged, contained legal poſſibilities that gave the Houſe ſome uneaſineſs about the propriety of holding the propoſed Synod. After this important ſection had been read over in the

the Houſe ſeveral times, and fully debated, it was finally unanimouſly decided that the ſubject of a Synod be deferred until the autumnal ſeſſion. Thus the offspring of Dr. Cotton Mather's fertile brain had already ſickened, and was likely to die in the hands of his friends. Whoever liſtened to the ſublime Doctor's comments on this diſpoſition of the ſubject muſt have been greatly entertained.

But the end had not yet come. It was neceſſary that all theſe proceedings ſhould be tranſmitted to the Biſhop of London, in order that they might reach the King's Council, through which his Majeſty might iſſue his command forbidding the holding of a Synod. Mr. Checkley haſtened to obtain a copy of Dr. Mather's memorial in behalf of the miniſters for holding a Synod, in which he ſucceeded, but nevertheleſs with great difficulty. It was the duty of the Lieutenant-Governor to tranſmit theſe proceedings to the King's Council in England, but this he did not chooſe to do, but ſought, on the contrary, to keep them ſecret. Through the vigilance and activity of Mr. Checkley copies of all the papers were deſpatched, the Memorial of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Myles, the proceedings of the Aſſembly in diſmiſſing it, and their doings upon the application of the miniſters through Cotton Mather for the calling of a Synod.

On reaching the Biſhop of London, the papers were referred to the Lords Juſtices for their opinion. By them they were ſubmitted to the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General for their conſideration. The opinion of theſe two learned juriſts was in due time preſented, approved, and adopted by the Lords Juſtices of England, and by their Secretary, Mr. Delafaye, communicated to William Dummer,

mer, Eſq., Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay. This official opinion on an important queſtion we give in full as follows: —

WHITEHALL Oct^r 7^th^, 1725.

SIR,

The Lords Juſtices being informed from ſuch good hands as make the truth of this advice not to be doubted, that at a General Convention of Miniſters from ſeveral parts of His Majeſty's Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay at Boſton on the 27^th^ May laſt, a Memorial and addreſs was framed, directed to you as Lieu^t^ Governor and Commander in Chief and to the Council and Houſe of Repreſentatives then ſitting, deſiring that the General Aſſembly would call the ſeveral Churches in that Province to meet by their Paſtors and Meſſengers, in a Synod, which memorial and addreſs being accordingly preſented by ſome of the ſaid Miniſters, in the name and at the deſire of the ſaid Convention, was conſidered in Council the 3^rd^ of June following, and there approved; but the Houſe of Repreſentatives put off the conſideration of it to the next ſeſſion in which the Council afterwards concurred. Their Ex^cies^ were extremely ſurpriſed, that no account of so extraordinary and important a tranſaction ſhould have been tranſmitted by you purſuant to an Act in your Inſtructions by which you are directed upon all occaſions to ſend unto His Majeſty, and to the Commiſ^rs^ for Trade and Plantations, a particular account of all your proceedings and the condition of affairs within your Government.

As this matter does highly concern His Majeſty's Royal Prerogative, Their Ex^cies^ referred it to M^r^ Attorney and M^r^ Solicitor General, who after mature Deliberation and making

making all the proper enquiries, reported that from the Charters and Laws of your Colony, they cannot collect that there is any regular eſtabliſhment of a National or Provincial Church There, ſo as to warrant the holding of Convocations or Synods of the Clergy; but if ſuch Synods might be holden, yet they take it to be clear in point of Law that his Majeſty's ſupremacy in Eccleſiaſtical affairs being a branch of his prerogative does take place in the Plantations, and that Synods cannot be held, nor is it lawful for the Clergy to aſſemble as in a Synod without authority from his Majeſty. They conceive the above mentioned application of the ſaid Miniſters, not to you alone as repreſenting the King's Perſons; but to you and the Council, and the Houſe of Repreſentatives, to be a contempt of his Majeſty's Prerogative, as it is a public acknowledgement, that the power of granting what they deſire, reſides in the Legiſlative body of the Province, which by Law is veſted only in his Majeſty, and the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r}, Council and Aſſembly intermedling therein was an invaſion of his Majeſty's royal authority, which it was your particular duty as Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} to have withſtood, and rejected, and that the conſent of the Governor, the Council and Houſe of Repreſentatives will not be a ſufficient authority for the holding of ſuch Synod.

Their Excell^{cies}, upon conſideration of this opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, which they have been pleaſed to approve, have commanded me to acquaint you therewith, and to expreſs to you their ſurpriſe, that no account of ſo remarkable a tranſaction, which ſo nearly concerns the King's Prerogative, and the welfare of his Majeſty's Province under your Government, has been received

received from you, and to ſignify to you their directions that you do put an effectual ſtop to any ſuch proceedings; but if the conſent, deſired by the Miniſters above mentioned for holding a Synod ſhould have been obtained, and this pretended Synod ſhould be actually ſitting when you receive theſe, their Exc^les^ directions, they do, in that caſe, require and direct you to cauſe ſuch, their meeting, to ceaſe, acquainting them that their Aſſembly is againſt Law, and a contempt of his Majeſty's Prerogative, and that they are to forbear to meet any more, and if, notwithſtanding ſuch ſignification, they ſhall continue to hold their Aſſembly, You are then to take care that the principal Actors therein be proſecuted for a miſdemeanor; but you are to avoid doing any formal act to diſſolve that, leſt that might be conſtrued to imply that they had a right to Aſſemble.

This, Sir, is what I have in command from their Ex^cies^ to ſignify to you, and I muſt obſerve to you that the Precedent quoted in the above-mentioned memorial of ſuch a Synod being held 45 years ago, falls in with the year 1680, and that the former Charter upon which the Government of your Province depended was repealed, by *Scire facias*, in the year 1684, and the new Charter was granted in the year 1691, from whence it appears that if ſuch Synods or Aſſembly was holden as is alledged, it happened a ſhort time before the repealing of the old Charter; but none has been held ſince the granting of the New One.

I am &^c^

CHARLES DELAFAYE.[76]

This

[76] *Vide Hiſtorical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Maſſachuſetts*, edited by Biſhop W. S. Perry, pp. 186–90.

This opinion of the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Lords Juſtices of England, could not fail to be gratifying to Mr. Checkley. He had been deeply intereſted in the whole proceedings, and was undoubtedly *magna pars* in all the meaſures deſigned to oppoſe the calling of a Synod. He had ſtated in his argument on his trial that "the Church of England, as eſtabliſhed in England, and NO OTHER, is eſtabliſhed in all his Majeſty's Plantations." The opinion of theſe diſtinguiſhed juriſts was that after mature deliberation and making all the proper inquiries, "they cannot collect that there is any regular eſtabliſhment of a National or Provincial Church there, ſo as to warrant the holding of Convocations or Synods of the Clergy." The confirmation of his opinion, which he had boldly ſtated before the magiſtrates, on his recent trial, and doubtleſs on many other occaſions, by ſuch legal authority was eminently ſatisfactory. Mr. Checkley's enforced ſtudy of the law had made him familiar with the legal relations of the Church of England to the religious bodies in the colonies. But he was only a layman, and no opinion of his could have much weight with the diſſenters. This confirmation of his views was not only a compliment to his knowledge and acumen, but a gratification of his pride. The defeat of Dr. Cotton Mather, in a favorite ſcheme, by one whom he affected to deſpiſe, muſt have been painfully humiliating, and perhaps accounts for the uncomplimentary terms in which he was ſubſequently accuſtomed to ſpeak of Mr. Checkley whenever he had occaſion to mention him.

It is not improbable that Mr. Checkley's poſitive ſtatement that the ſtanding order was not a legally eſtabliſhed Church

Church in Maſſachuſetts Bay, and his proofs by the citation at his trial of the laws of England and the canons of the Engliſh Church, ſo clear, ſo full, and ſo explicit, had much to do in determining the character of the verdict found againſt him, and the ſevere penalty adjudged by the Court. This doctrine was then new to the Magiſtrates of Maſſachuſetts Bay, and if ſet up and eſtabliſhed would work a ſerious change in the adminiſtration of the eccleſiaſtical affairs of the Province. A Synod, legalized by the General Court, which ſhould place their claim of an eſtabliſhed Church on a more ſolid foundation, was apparently their laſt expiring effort.

It is obvious to remark that no attempt was afterwards made by Dr. Cotton Mather or others to hold a Synod in the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay.

Mr. Checkley had long entertained a deſire to enter into Holy Orders. He had made application for orders in 1723, which had been declined becauſe there was at that time no vacancy in New England where he could be appointed, and partly on account of his refuſal to take the oaths which had been ordered by the authorities in Maſſachuſetts Bay.[764] In 1727

[764] According to the rules of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, all miſſionaries were appointed to ſome ſpecific pariſh or field. In 1723 Mr. Checkley appeared before a committee of the Society and ſtated the advantages of an itinerant miſſionary for New England. The ſuggeſtion was entertained with ſome favor. But the ſcheme was not finally adopted. At a ſubſequent meeting of the Society it was agreed that Mr. Checkley be informed that there was at that time no vacancy in New England to which he could be appointed, and he was recommended, if he looked for any future favor from them, upon his return to New England to take the oaths appointed by authority, and to demean himſelf as a loyal and dutiful ſubject.

1727 he repaired to England, and made application again for orders to Dr. Gibſon the Biſhop of London. He was here met, however, by unexpected and extraordinary obſtacles. At that time the Rev. John Barnard[77] and the Rev. Edward Holyoke, who ſubſequently became Preſident of Harvard College,[78] were miniſters of the Congregational order at Marblehead. They were both men of character and diſtinction. A rumor had gained currency that Mr. Checkley, on obtaining orders in England, would be ſent by the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts to Marblehead, as Rector of St. Michael's Church, which was then vacant. His publications in defence of Epiſcopacy, and his attack upon ſome of the diſtinguiſhing doctrines of Calviniſm, naturally led theſe gentlemen to believe that ſuch a lively champion of the Church of England would hardly prove a deſirable neighbor in the compact little town of Marblehead. Mr. Barnard informs us in his autobiography that he wrote a letter to the Biſhop of London, for the purpoſe of preventing Mr. Checkley's ordination, ſigned both by himſelf and Mr. Holyoke. Mr. Barnard has placed upon record the objections, which he urged doubtleſs in his letter to the Biſhop of London. The firſt was that Mr. Checkley was "void of a liberal education"; the ſecond, that he was "an indefatigable enemy to the churches of this country";

[77] The Rev. John Barnard was born Nov. 6, 1681, and died Jan. 24, 1770. He graduated at Harvard College 1700. He publiſhed many ſermons, one on the impropriety of keeping Chriſtmas day. He alſo left an Autobiography, which was publiſhed in the *Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Collections*, Vol. XXXV.

[78] The Rev. Edward Holyoke was born June 25, 1689; died June 1, 1769; graduated at Harvard College in 1705. He became Preſident of the College in 1737, and held the office till his death. He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons.

country"; third, that he was "a non-juror to the Britiſh government."[79]

The firſt of theſe ſtatements was undoubtedly not true. He was educated at the Boſton Latin School, and at the Univerſity of Oxford in England. Although he did not matriculate at the latter inſtitution, he appears to have purſued his ſtudies there under private tutors. He was an accompliſhed ſcholar in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and, as all may ſee who read his defence on his trial in Boſton, he was maſter of a pure, vigorous, and poliſhed Engliſh, and of a ſound, clear, and diſcriminating logic, the beſt evidences of well diſciplined and cultivated intellectual powers. Such a man could not be "void of a liberal education."

The ſecond ſtatement was true, if all were "enemies of their churches" who did not believe in the validity of their miniſterial orders or in the truth of their Calviniſtic teaching. Mr. Checkley was neither a Congregationaliſt nor a Calviniſt. By his publications he had made known as diſtinctly as was poſſible his views on both of theſe ſubjects. If he had agreed with them on theſe points, he doubtleſs would not have ſought orders in the Church of England. But he did not regard himſelf as the enemy of thoſe with whom he differed. His own words are explicit: —

"I wou'd willingly diſpleaſe no Man, but live at peace with all the World. God knows my Heart, I hate no man's Perſon, but would do him all the good that is in my Power. But if I cannot do him Good without diſpleaſing him, I ought to prefer his Good to the diſturbing

[79] *Vide Collections of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society*, Vol. XXXV. p. 229.

turbing him a little; elſe I do not really love him. And if he takes Offence at me for this, it is his Fault, not mine."[80]

It is intereſting to obſerve that Mr. Barnard did not deſire to have any clergyman of the Church of England ſettled at Marblehead who would be likely to be an "enemy of the churches of this country;" nevertheleſs two years after he had written this to the Biſhop of London, he preached, on the 25th of December, 1729, and ſubſequently publiſhed, a ſermon againſt the obſervance of Chriſtmas day, a very natural method of provoking hoſtility to their "churches," if it did not already exiſt. Whatever may be ſaid of Mr. Checkley, it is very plain that Mr. Barnard was an enemy to at leaſt one very important and univerſal obſervance of the Church of England.[81]

Mr. Barnard's third objection was that Mr. Checkley was "a non-juror to the Britiſh Government." This was diſtinctly a falſe accuſation. He had undoubtedly a very ſtrong ſympathy for the non-jurors in their ſufferings for conſcience' ſake, as the beſt men, from that time to this, have always had. But there was at that time the moſt ample evidence that he was not himſelf a non-juror. He had taken the oath of allegiance in Boſton, which was on record. He had been proſecuted on this identical charge, and had been acquitted by a jury of twelve men. The Holy Orders which he was ſeeking could not be conferred upon any one until he had taken an oath of allegiance to the Britiſh Government,

[80] *Vide* Diſcourſe on Epiſcopacy, p. 96.

[81] *Vide Mr. Barnard's Sermon upon December* 25, 1729. Boſton 1731, and an anſwer *by the Rev. George Pigot*, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, January 4, 1729-30, Boſton 1731.

ernment, and this Mr. Checkley was ready to do. In the face of theſe facts this charge could not be made by any one without aſſuming the office of a falſe accuſer. This office Mr. Barnard aſſumed, of which it does not appear that he ever repented. We have here a notable example of how completely prejudice and zeal ſometimes ſtifle the voice of conſcience, and lead their victim into violations of Chriſtian morality at which a pagan might well heſitate and be aſhamed.

Influenced more or leſs by theſe miſrepreſentations, and probably by others during Mr. Checkley's late trial, the Biſhop of London was not prepared at this time to grant to him the Holy Orders for which he ſought.

On his return to Boſton, thus defeated in his purpoſe, Mr. Checkley again ſettled down to his accuſtomed occupations in ſelling books and other commodities in his little ſhop over againſt the weſt end of the Town-Houſe, which he had dignified with the name of the "Crown and Blue-Gate."

Few events of general intereſt diverſified the next ten years of his life. He was a member of the corporation of King's Chapel, and took an active part in the adminiſtration of its affairs. He was ſometimes a member of its veſtry, and often appointed on important committees. During this period there were in the pariſh many differences and contentions. Mr. Checkley's active temperament and habit of holding poſitive views on moſt ſubjects made him prominent, if not a leader, on one ſide or the other, on all queſtions on which there were two opinions in the pariſh.

Perhaps the moſt exciting, if not the moſt important, matter in the pariſh of King's Chapel during theſe years related

related to the Rev. Henry Harris, the aſſiſtant miniſter of the Chapel. Mr. Harris was an Engliſhman, a graduate of Jeſus College at Oxford, and held a unique fellowſhip in that college, on a foundation eſtabliſhed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, yielding a ſtipend of £40 per annum. The fellows on this foundation were under the direction of the Biſhop of London, and were created for ſervice on "her Majeſty's ſhip at ſea," or in "her foreign plantations." In addition to this ſtipend, the Rev. Mr. Harris received £100 annually from the ſovereign, which during the reign of Queen Anne was denominated the "Queen's Bounty." His duties were well defined, and beyond theſe duties he was not under the direction or control of the Rector of the pariſh.[82] He was diſtinguiſhed for good ſcholarſhip and ſuperior ability.[83]

In

[82] *Vide The Biſhop of London's Inſtructions to Mr. Harris*, in the *Hiſtorical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Maſſachuſetts*, edited by Biſhop W. S. Perry, pp. 115–16. A full account of the origin of the fellowſhip which the Rev. Mr. Harris held will be found in the *Hiſtory of the Church of England in the Colonies*, by the Rev. James S. M. Anderſon, London, 1848, Vol. II. p. 571, *et ſequentia*.

[83] *Vide Annals of King's Chapel*, by Henry Wilder Foote, Vol. I. p. 194 *et alibi*, for much relating to the Rev. Henry Harris. He became the aſſiſtant miniſter of King's Chapel, or Queen's Chapel, as it was at that time called, in 1709. He edited an edition of a Diſcourſe concerning the "Inventions of Men in the worſhip of God," by Dr. William King, Biſhop of London-Derry, reprinted in Boſton 1712. Mr. Harris publiſhed alſo a ſermon delivered in King's Chapel on Chriſtmas day, 1712. The occaſion of this publication may be here noted. Dr. Cotton Mather preached a diſcourſe at the Thurſday lecture, on the ſame day, entitled "Grace Defended. A Cenſure on the Ungodlineſs, By which the Glorious Grace of God is too commonly Abuſed. A Sermon preached Decr. 25, 1712. Boſton-Lecture, Boſton, 1712." Dr. Mather took this opportunity to cenſure the obſervance of Chriſtmas by the members of the Church of England. This he did by innuendoes in ſuch ſtatements as theſe: —"'T is an Evident Affront unto the *Grace of God* for Men to make the Birth of Our *Holy Saviour* an Encouragement and an Occaſion for very *Unholy Enormities*. . . . Can you in your *Conſcience* think that our *Holy Saviour* is honored by *Mad Mirth*, by long *Eating*, by hard *Drinking*, by lewd *Gaming*, by rude *Revelling*, by a *Maſs*, fit for none but a *Saturn* or a *Bacchus*, on the Night of a *Mahometan Ramadam?*"

The dignified courſe of the veſtry of King's Chapel after this virulent attack upon

In the later years of the Rev. Mr. Myles's Rectorſhip, when the infirmities of age made it obvious that his earthly career would ſoon be terminated, the Rev. Mr. Harris became ambitious to ſucceed him as Rector of the pariſh. He had not, however, purſued a courſe that rendered him generally acceptable to the pariſhioners. He had put himſelf in an attitude of hoſtility to Mr. Checkley when he was paſſing through his trial, had criticiſed his book from the pulpit, and at that time wrote to the Biſhop of London, cenſuring with great bitterneſs both Mr. Checkley and the Rev. Dr. Cutler, Rector of Chriſt Church. This letter doubtleſs contained a mixture of truth and error. If it prevented Mr. Checkley's entrance into Holy Orders, which he was at that time ſeeking, it undoubtedly defeated Mr. Harris's hope of obtaining the Rectorſhip of the Chapel, which was at that time his controlling ambition.

In the contention between Mr. Checkley and Mr. Harris it is quite impoſſible, with the incomplete data now before us, to determine which was in the right, or how far each was in the wrong. While full repreſentations were ſent by both ſides to the Biſhop of London, he wrote that he was not able

"to

upon one of their cheriſhed obſervances was ſimply to publiſh the Rev. Mr. Harris's ſermon delivered in the chapel on the ſame day, which was a plain, practical diſcourſe, clear in ſtatement and devout in ſpirit, wholly inconſiſtent with the bugbears with which Dr. Mather had thought it beſt to adorn his Chriſtmas ſermon. This was a delicate and apoſtolic method, not too common at that day, of "heaping coals of fire" on an aſſailant's head. The following is the title of the ſermon: —

A SERMON Preached at the QUEEN'S CHAPPEL in *Boſton*, upon CHRISTMAS DAY, the *25th* of *December* 1712. Publiſh'd at the Requeſt of the Gentlemen of the Veſtry. By Mr. HARRIS, one of the Miniſters of the ſaid Chappel, and Fellow of Jeſus-College, in OXFORD. BOSTON in *New England:* Printed by *B. Green;* Sold by *Joanna Perry*, at her ſhop in King Street. 1712.

The orthography of the Mohammedan faſt *Ramadan*, as uſed by Dr. Mather, needs correction.

"to form any certain judgment about it, nor to ſee who is moſt in the blame." The ſympathies of a majority of the pariſh were diſtinctly with Mr. Checkley, and the cheriſhed hopes of Mr. Harris of obtaining the Rectorſhip of the Chapel were blaſted almoſt in the bud. The Rev. Roger Price[84] was appointed to the place by Dr. Gibſon, the Biſhop of London, and was inducted into office, with the uſual ceremonies, on the 25th of June, 1729. About three months later, on the 6th of October, the Rev. Mr. Harris died, and with him the controverſy that had given him and others great diſcomfort and mental anguiſh, and which, we may well believe, haſtened his death.

While this parochial and perſonal ſcrimmage was in progreſs Mr. Checkley found time, in 1728, to addreſs a letter to the Biſhop of London, in which he ſet forth with great earneſtneſs and force the ſufferings and hardſhips which the members

[84] The Rev. Roger Price was born in England, Dec. 6, 1696, was of Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1717. After taking orders, he was ſome time a chaplain on the Coaſt of Guinea, and on the iſland of Jamaica. He was ſubſequently for ſome time at Leigh, a ſmall ſeaport town in Eſſex, England. By the recommendation of Dr. Gibſon, the Biſhop of London, he became Rector of King's Chapel. He was inducted into office on the 25th of June, 1729, with the ceremonies uſual in the Church of England; a full account of which will be found in Dr. F. W. P. Greenwood's *Hiſtory of King's Chapel*, pp. 89–91. Mr. Price reſigned the Rectorſhip of the Chapel in 1747. He had been made Commiſſary for New England by the Biſhop of London, on becoming Rector of King's Chapel, in 1729. This office he held till the death of Biſhop Gibſon, in 1748, when it ceaſed by limitation. As Commiſſary to the Biſhop of London, it was his duty to collect and forward to the Biſhop ſuch information in regard to the clergy and the churches as was important for him to have. He alſo called conventions of the clergy, and preſided at the ſame, and was expected to exerciſe at all times a benign influence for the proſperity and advancement of the Church. From 1748 to 1753 he was a miſſionary of the Venerable Society at St. Paul's Church, Hopkinton, Maſſachuſetts. He returned to England in 1753, and died at Leigh, Eſſex, Dec. 8, 1762. A very full account of his life and career may be found in the *Annals of King's Chapel*, by Henry Wilder Foote: Boſton, 1882.

members of the Church of England were forced to endure from the unjuſt and tyrannical laws, which compelled them by taxation to aid in the ſupport of the pariſhes of the congregational order, although they did not believe their teaching or attend their ſervices. Members of the Church of England in every part of the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay were threatened and haraſſed, and thrown into priſon for non-compliance. Thoſe who reſided more than five miles from an Epiſcopal church were arreſted and fined if they attempted on Sunday to go to their own church, and were ſubjected to taxation for the ſupport of congregational pariſhes. Mr. Checkley's able letter aſks the Biſhop of London to uſe his influence in their behalf, that the Church of England might not fall a ſacrifice to their cruel and oppreſſive laws.[86]

Mr. Matthew Ellis, of Medford, a member of Chriſt Church, Boſton, was among others caſt into priſon for non-compliance in the payment of theſe odious taxes. Through the influence of the united veſtries of King's Chapel and Chriſt Church, who regarded the law as inconſiſtent with the proviſions of the charter of the Province, Mr. Ellis, in order to teſt it, proſecuted for falſe impriſonment the conſtable, Richard Sprague, who had been the inſtrument of his incarceration. The caſe was carried through all the courts of the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay, but no redreſs could be obtained; and moreover the Superior Court denied him an appeal to the King in Council. But the feeling was too

[86] For this letter, *Vide* Vol. II. p. 188, alſo, *Hiſtorical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Maſſachuſetts*, edited by Biſhop W. S. Perry, pp. 250–52.

too intenſe to allow the matter to be dropped here. On the application of Mr. Ellis to the King in Council an appeal was readily granted, and Mr. Sprague was ſummoned to appear before a committee of the Privy Council to anſwer for the impriſonment of Mr. Ellis.

The perſiſtence of Mr. Ellis, backed by the churchmen of the two important pariſhes of the Church of England in Boſton, among whom was to be found the beſt legal talent in the colony, led the magiſtrates and the General Court, however unwillingly, to a ſerious conſideration of the weakneſs of their caſe, and the great injuſtice of their law. They clearly ſaw that good policy at leaſt required their immediate action. The General Court therefore, without waiting till the law was pronounced null and void, as they doubtleſs anticipated it would be, haſtened to change and modify it in ſuch a manner that it was no longer oppreſſive to the members of the Church of England.

The fruits of Mr. Checkley's letter to the Biſhop of London came tardily but nevertheleſs effectively. Through it the Biſhop of London and the officers of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts were clearly and fully informed of the nature and oppreſſive character of the Puritan law. It was doubtleſs through their influence that Mr. Ellis's appeal to the Privy Council was granted, and that the law was finally modified and diveſted of its oppreſſive features.[86]

In the year 1730, ſix years after Mr. Checkley's proſecution

[86] *Vide Hiſtorical Collections of the American Colonial Church. in Maſſachuſetts*, edited by Biſhop W. S. Perry, pp. 311–12, *et alibi.*

tion in the courts of Boſton, and three years after he was defeated in his efforts to enter the miniſtry of the Church of England, he publiſhed his argument at his trial, which had occurred in 1724. There was ſomething ſignificant in the publication of this forenſic diſcourſe. In it he reiterated and affirmed in the moſt deciſive and poſitive manner the claims of Epiſcopacy as ſet forth in the ſo-called "libelous book." He neither withdrew, denied, mitigated, nor ſoftened one of its allegations. In this ſpeech his views had been formulated under great reſponſibilities, and he had ſtated them with ſtudious clearneſs and care. It moreover contained what Mr. Checkley and his friends regarded as an abſolute refutation of all the falſe charges made againſt him on his trial. On its original delivery it had been liſtened to by the judges of the court, the jury, and the ſmall number of perſons who could be accommodated in the Council Chamber of the Old State Houſe, doubtleſs compriſing the miniſters of the ſtanding order, their zealous partiſans, and ſome of the warm friends of Mr. Checkley. It was plainly expedient that it ſhould have a wider hearing. It was deſirable that the clergy of the Church of England throughout all the Engliſh Provinces in America ſhould know the grounds of his proſecution and the nature of his defence. As his application for Holy Orders in the Church of England had not been granted on account of miſrepreſentations made by certain Puritan miniſters and others in Maſſachuſetts Bay, no other document could be placed before Dr. Gibſon, the Biſhop of London, and the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, which ſhould ſtate ſo clearly Mr. Checkley's views on the apoſtolic character of Epiſco-

pacy and his unfeigned loyalty to his ſovereign, the King of England. It is not poſſible to determine with exactneſs what influence this ſpeech had upon the Biſhop of London, but it is ſufficient for us to know that Mr. Checkley's next application for Holy Orders was not refuſed.[87]

A ſubject which greatly intereſted Mr. Checkley at this time was the education of his children, of which two only lived to the period of manhood, a ſon and a daughter. The daughter married Henry Paget, Eſq., an Iriſh gentleman, a merchant of Providence, a prominent member of King's Church, often one of the Veſtry, and Warden in 1761–63.

The son, bearing the ſame name as the father, was graduated at Harvard College in 1738. His name appears in the catalogue of the Boſton Latin School, among thoſe who were probably members, but of which there is no abſolute and certain knowledge. While it is highly probable that he was at ſome ſtages of his education a member of the Latin School, it is not unlikely that he received inſtruction from his father, who was doubtleſs better qualified, eſpecially in the Greek and Latin languages, to prepare his ſon for Harvard College than any teacher which the Latin School could at that time furniſh. After his graduation he gave ſeveral

[87] The following is the full title of the ſpeech: —

THE SPEECH OF Mr. *John Checkley* UPON HIS TRIAL at *Boſton* in NEW-ENGLAND, FOR PUBLISHING the Short and Eaſy METHOD with the *Deiſts:* To which was added a Diſcourſe concerning EPISCOPACY; In Defence of *Chriſtianity*, and the CHURCH *of England*, againſt the DEISTS and the DISSENTERS. To which is added: The Jury's Verdict; His Plea in Arreſt of Judgment; and the Sentence of Court. LONDON: Printed for J. WILFORD, behind the *Chapter Houſe* in *St Paul's Church-Yard.* 1730.

ſeveral years to the ſtudy of theology, probably under the direction and tuition of his father. While theſe ſtudies were going forward, he acted for ſome time as tutor in the family of the Hon. Daniel Updike, for many years Attorney-General of Rhode Iſland, and was likewiſe a member of a literary ſociety in Newport, Rhode Iſland, eſtabliſhed in 1730, while the celebrated Dr. George Berkeley, ſubſequently Biſhop of Cloyne, was a reſident, and of which, if he was not the founder, he was doubtleſs the leading ſpirit.

In the autumn of 1742 he was reſiding in Narraganſett, Rhode Iſland, and was perhaps receiving inſtruction in ſome department of theological ſtudy from the learned Rector of St. Paul's Church, the Rev. Dr. James McSparran.[88] He repaired to England, and received Deacon's orders in Fullam Chapel, on the 29th day of June, 1744, from the Rt. Rev. Edmund Gibſon, D. D., Biſhop of London, and in the ſame place, and by the ſame prelate, prieſt's orders, July 8, 1744.[89]

He was aſſigned a miſſion by the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel, at Newark, New Jerſey.

He did not ſurvive to return to America, but died of ſmall-pox in London. He is reputed by tradition to have been a young man of promiſe, of ſuperior abilities, and of many attractive qualities. We cannot overſtate the father's profound ſenſe of loſs in the death of this only ſon, at once the pride and hope of his advancing years.

But

[88] *Vide* note 64, *antea* p. 78.

[89] A certified record of his ordination from the archives of the Dioceſe of London is in the poſſeſſion of the Editor; he was appointed a miſſionary of the Venerable Society for Newark, New Jerſey. *Vide Digeſt of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts*, p. 854.

But to return to the thread of our narrative. Of Mr. Checkley's buſineſs occupations little is definitely known. At times he exported goods to London, and doubtleſs imported from the ſame city ſuch commodities as were ſalable at the "Crown and Blue-Gate" in Cornhill. He purchaſed in 1730, probably for inveſtment, a piece of real eſtate in the northweſt part of the town of Boſton, near the Mill Pond, which he ſold in 1741, at a large advance. In 1733 he ſold his houſe in Cornhill, although it is not unlikely that he continued to occupy it, as long as he reſided in Boſton.[90]

In 1738, Mr. Checkley again repaired to London, and ſought admiſſion to Holy Orders in the Church of England. It was now ten years ſince his former application had been refuſed. The active perſonal oppoſition of the Congregational miniſters, which they claimed had been ſucceſsful in preventing his entrance to the ſacred office had finally died away. As water is the ſolvent of many ſubſtances in nature ſilently neutralizing them and diſcharging their poiſonous elements, ſo time mitigates and deſtroys, or at leaſt renders inactive, perſonal hoſtilities, eſpecially when they are founded in paſſion and not in reaſon. Mr. Checkley had "lived down" all perſonal oppoſition. Dr. Gibſon, the Biſhop of London, had doubtleſs read his ſpeech on his trial, publiſhed in 1730, and had found him an earneſt, true, and faithful defender of the Church of England. He had no longer any wiſh to thwart his conſcientious and noble deſire of entering the

[90] *Vide Suffolk Regiſtry of Deeds*, Boſton, for Conveyance of real eſtate by John Checkley.

the miniſtry of the church, a deſire which had ſurvived unabated through ſo many years of hatred and perſecution. In the month of May, 1738, on a day between the 8th and 19th of that month, he received both Deacon's and Prieſt's Orders in the Church of England;[91] the Univerſity of Oxford haſtened to confer upon him the honorary degree of Maſter of

[91] There is a tradition that Mr. Checkley was ordained by the Biſhop of Exeter, and it is probably correct. It was not unuſual for the Biſhop of London, when his own engagements made it expedient, to appoint ſome other Biſhop to confer orders. The following are inſtances of this kind. Biſhop Seabury received Deacon's Orders from the Biſhop of Lincoln, and his Prieſt's Orders from the Biſhop of Carliſle; Biſhop White received his Deacon's Orders from the Biſhop of Norwich; Biſhop Provooſt received his Prieſt's Orders from the Biſhop of Cheſter; Biſhop Jarvis received his Deacon's Orders from the Biſhop of Cheſter, and his Prieſt's Orders from the Biſhop of Carliſle, all acting for the Biſhop of London. The records of the Dioceſe of London, of Oxford, and of Ely have been carefully examined at the inſtance of the editor; and likewiſe by the kind offices of Mr. C. F. Paſcoe, keeper of the Records of the Venerable Society, enquiries have been made at the Dioceſan Regiſtrar's office of Canterbury and at the Lambeth Palace Library, and no record of his ordination has been found. It ſeems therefore not unlikely that he was ordained by the Biſhop of Exeter by the requeſt of the Biſhop of London, and by ſome miſunderſtanding no record was made in either Dioceſe. Thus the evidence ſtands in this not very important matter: That he was ordained in May, 1738, on ſome day between the 8th and the 19th of that month incluſive, is matter of record. In the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, for April 21, 1738, the Society "agreed to revive the miſſion at Providence, the people there having built a houſe and ſettled a glebe for an Epiſcopal Miniſter, and to appoint Mr. Checkley Miſſionary there, when in Prieſt's Orders." *Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 231. At the next meeting, on the 19th of May, 1738, is the following record: "The Rev. Mr. Checkley laid before the Board his Prieſt's Orders, which were approved of," and he was "appointed Miſſionary at Providence in New England." *Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 248.

The following is from the Records of the Dioceſe of London: —

I, John Checkley to be admitted to perform the Miniſterial office in Providence in New England do willingly and from my heart ſubſcribe to the three articles prefixed and comprized in ye thirty ſixth canon and alſo to the thirty nine Articles of Faith and Religion of the Church of England and to all things therein contained this 8th day of May in the year of our Lord 1738.

Jnº Checkley.

It thus appears that he was not in Orders on the 8th, but was on the 19th, of May, and conſequently was ordained, as we have already ſtated, during the period intervening between thoſe two dates.

of Arts, and on the 19th of that month the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts appointed him a miſſionary at Providence, Rhode Iſland, "with a ſalary of £60 a year, to commence from Lady Day laſt," which was the 25th day of March, 1738.

He lingered ſome months in England attending to various perſonal matters of buſineſs. During his ſtay in London, he iſſued a ſecond edition of his ſpeech upon his trial for publiſhing a diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy, in defence of Chriſtianity and the Church of England, with the jury's verdict, his plea in arreſt of judgment, and the ſentence of the court.

Mr. Checkley's appointment to Providence, Rhode Iſland, was eminently ſatisfactory to him as well as to the members of King's Church, now St. John's, of which he became Rector. No field on the continent of America could have been ſelected better ſuited to his varied qualifications, or which he would himself have preferred to this. It was little more than a day's journey to his old home and many friends in Boſton. The Rev. Mr. Honyman of Newport, and the Rev. Dr. McSparran at North Kingſton, then known as Narraganſett, both old and tried friends, were to be his neareſt neighbors. The whole Province of Rhode Iſland was a miſſionary field, ripe and ready for the reaper's ſickle. All theſe were attractive features in the opening proſpect, and eſpecially the latter, as Mr. Checkley's whole life had been deeply imbued with the miſſionary ſpirit.

Services in King's Church, Providence, had been held with more or leſs regularity for the laſt ſeventeen years. A church had been erected, and a parſonage, on a glebe of eighteen

eighteen or more acres, had been provided for the Rector.[92] The parish, however, at that time was small, and its means exceedingly limited. When the news reached them that the Venerable Society in England had provided a Rector for them, contributing a large part of the means necessary for his support, their hearts were touched with gratitude and filled with joy. They immediately transmitted a memorial to the Society, bearing date May 4, 1739, conveying their "most unfeigned thanks" for the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Checkley to officiate to them, "than whom no man," they add, "was more desired, and they do not doubt but that he will answer the expectation of all good men concerning him." Mr. Checkley entered upon his duties in May, 1739,[93] and on the November following he wrote to the Venerable Society that "his congregation received him with joy;" that he was deeply engaged in his work, and had already baptized thirteen persons; and, outside of the parish lines, was giving attention to the instruction both of Indians and Negroes. Although in age he had nearly reached the limit of threescore years, he began at once, and continued for a complete decade, to visit many outlying posts, nothing daunted by the miry bogs, tangled fens, and pathless forests through

[92] The Rev. Mr. Checkley's predecessors in King's, now St. John's, Church, Providence, were the Rev. George Pigot, the Rev. Mr. Charro, and the Rev. Arthur Browne.

[93] In the abstracts of the *Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, on the 16th of February, 1738–9, occurs the following: —

The Society hath sent the Reverend Mr. *Checkley*, lately admitted into Holy Orders in *England*, upon the Recommendation of the Clergy of *New-England*, to the Mission at *Providence*, and there are good Hopes of his doing considerable Service there from his being a Native of the Country, from his great Skill in the neighbouring *Indian* Language, and from his long Acquaintance with the *Indians* themselves: and it is to be hoped Mr. *Checkley* is by this time happily arrived at his Mission. *Vide Report*, pp. 42–3.

through which his journeys led. He held, at appointed periods, monthly ſervices at Warwick on the ſouth, and at Attleborough on the north. At the requeſt of the Rev. Roger Price, Rector of King's Chapel in Boſton, and Commiſſary of the Biſhop of London, he ſometimes held ſervices and preached at Taunton, twenty miles diſtant from Providence, to congregations of more than three hundred perſons, ſome of whom, he had reaſon to believe, were never before in any place of Chriſtian worſhip.

Mr. Checkley at an early period, when a layman in Boſton, conceived a very deep intereſt in the welfare of the aborigines of the country, and at that time made one or two journeys of inſpection and inveſtigation, and devoted much time in learning their language. Now, as a Chriſtian teacher and conſecrated miniſter of Chriſt, his intereſt in them was ſtrengthened and enlarged. He viſited them in their diſtant homes; he expounded the New Teſtament in their own language; preached the goſpel, revealing to them its marvellous power upon the heart and life of man, and thus from his lips they heard of "the wonderful works of God" in the tongue wherein they were born. Among other places, he viſited their wigwams along the banks of the Quinnebaug,[94] becoming

[94] On the northern borders of Connecticut, in Tolland and Windſor Counties, ſeveral ſmall ſtreams riſe, flowing northward, croſſing the State line into Maſſachuſetts, becoming confluent with others in Brimfield and Sturbridge, and at length ſwell into an important ſtream in Southbridge, which flowing on in an eaſterly and ſoutherly direction, paſſing through the town of Dudley, again enters the State of Connecticut, and continuing generally in a ſouthern direction with many angles, windings, and curves, after a courſe of thirty-five miles, uniting with the Shetucket from the northweſt, it ſoon loſes itſelf in the tide-waters of the Thames at the city of Norwich. This is the Quinnebaug River. A hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, the ſhores of this ſtream were inhabited by a ſubordinate tribe of Indians called the *Quinnebaugs*. They

becoming familiar with their ways of living and thinking, ſhedding what ſpiritual light he could into their dark and uninſtructed minds. Theſe journeys were no holiday excurſions. They were made at the expenſe of toil, of wearineſs, and ſometimes of hunger. It muſt have been a pathetic and touching ſpectacle to ſee the venerable and ardent miſſionary, with locks white with the froſts of ſixty-five winters, mounting his horſe and threading his way through the crooked and half-trodden paths of the wilderneſs, ſeeking out theſe children of the foreſt to tell them the ſimple but enchanting ſtory of the croſs, of redemption from ſin in Chriſt, of a life beyond this where there is peace and purity and bleſſedneſs forever.

Theſe journeys and viſits to outlying poſts were always made on ſecular days. On Sundays Mr. Checkley was conſcientiouſly devoted to his work in King's Church in Providence, which yielded ſteady and gratifying fruits.

Beſides official, clerical duties, Mr. Checkley found time to give inſtruction to ſeveral young men who, from time to time, were placed under his care.

It is to be regretted that no manuſcripts, either ſermons or letters, written in the later years of his life, are, ſo far as we are aware, now extant. The twenty or more letters written during the five years from 1720 to 1725 incluſive, contained in another part of this work, ſhow very clearly his literary taſtes, his devout character, the high purpoſes and aims

They were thinly ſcattered over a comparatively large territory, were mild and unwarlike, living upon the products of the ſoil, the chaſe, and the fiſh which they took from this river. Mr. Checkley ſtates that "he found a greater number of people in the woods than he could have imagined, deſtitute of all religion, and as living without God in the world; that he had viſited the Indians upon Quinnebaug River, and was in hopes of doing ſome good among them." *Vide Abſtracts*

aims of his life.[95] His private library, for a New England pariſh miniſter, was large for that period, numbering not much leſs than a thouſand volumes.[96] It abounded in folios and quartos, in works in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and other languages, and indicated ſomewhat the extent of his ſcholarſhip and the breadth of his learning.

Mr. Checkley's education at Oxford in his early youth, his viſits to England in 1722, in 1727, and likewiſe in 1738, where at each viſit he lingered ſeveral months, gave him a wide acquaintance, both in the Univerſities and in London, with diſtinguiſhed and learned men. Theſe acquaintances were mutually maintained for many years. Among theſe friends and aſſociates were the Rev. Dr. Zachary Grey, the learned editor of "Hudibras";[97] the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Marſhall, tranſlator of the works of St. Cyprian;[98] the Rev. Dr. Thomas

Abſtracts of the Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel for 1744.

[95] In the *Memoirs of the Rhode Iſland Bar*, by Wilkins Updike, Eſq., it is ſtated that the Rev. John Checkley was a member of a Literary Society in Newport out of which ſprang the Redwood Library. This appears to have been a miſtake. The aſſociation referred to was a local ſociety, and its rules could not be complied with by one living as far diſtant as Providence. John Checkley, Jr., was a member of that Society. *Vide Annals of the Redwood Library*, by George Champlin Maſon, Newport, 1891, p. 18.

[96] In the inventory of Mr. Checkley's property may be found 42 folios, 55 quartos, 242 octavos, 187 duodecimos, and a large number of books in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and other languages, of various ſizes, from folios to twenty-four-mos. From the valuation of this miſcellaneous lot we eſtimate that it contained 400 volumes, which would make the whole number in the library 926 volumes beſides pamphlets, and the 450 copies of *Leſlie's Short and Eaſy Method with the Deiſts*.

[97] Dr. Grey died in 1766, in the 79th year of his age. He was educated at the Univerſity of Cambridge, and was Vicar of St. Peter's and St. Gile's. His elaborate annotations of *Hudibras* gave value and permanent hiſtorical intereſt to that ſatirical poem. He was a voluminous writer, largely of a controverſial and critical character. Mr. Nichols gives 33 titles, which are only a part of his publications. *Vide Literary Anecdotes*, by John Nichols, Vol. II. pp. 532–49.

[98] Dr. Marſhall was Canon of Windſor. Beſides his tranſlation of St. Cyprian, he publiſhed ſeveral volumes of ſermons.

Thomas Bennet, the author of many theological treatiſes;[99] the Rev. Dr. William Delaune, Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford;[100] the Rev. Robert Moſs, the eloquent and accompliſhed Dean of Ely;[101] Sir Francis Nicholſon,[102] and many others. It is to be regretted that very little of his correſpondence has been preſerved. That he highly valued the friendſhip of theſe diſtinguiſhed men is apparent from his frequent alluſion to them in the fragments of his letters which ſtill exiſt. How long he kept up his acquaintance after he took orders and entered upon his miniſterial work is unknown. In the later years of his life many of them had died; and after reaching threeſcore years, with all its abſorbing duties, it is hardly probable that new aſſociations were formed.

At the end of ten years of his miniſtry, infirmities began to creep upon the aged miſſionary, and to admoniſh him that the work which he had done ſo faithfully, with ſo much pleaſure to himſelf and benefit to others, was now approaching its end.

For

[99] Dr. Bennet was born about 1673, and died in 1728, was educated at the Univerſity of Cambridge. He publiſhed works on the Sacraments, Schiſm, Liturgies, on the 39 Articles, a confutation of Popery, and likewiſe of Quakeriſm, and he alſo publiſhed Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer.

[100] Dr. Delaune was the author of ſeveral volumes of ſermons.

[101] Dr. Moſs was born about 1666 and died in 1729. Dr. Zachary Grey publiſhed a Memoir with his collected works in 8 volumes. — *Allibone.* Dr. Timothy Cutler of Boſton in a letter to Dr. Grey ſays of the ſermons of Dr. Moſs "their reputation muſt laſt as long as that of Learning, Eloquence, or Religion." An epitome of Dr. Grey's memoir is given in *Nichol's Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. IV. pp. 223–39.

[102] Sir Francis Nicholſon, when Governor of Maſſachuſetts, held a commiſſion tantamount to that of commiſſary, as will be ſeen by reference to Dr. F. W. P. Greenwood's *Hiſtory of King's Chapel*, Boſton, pp. 76–78. *Vide* also *Hiſtorical Collection of the American Colonial Church in Maſſachuſetts*, edited by Biſhop W. S. Perry, pp. 660–1. *Vide antea* p. 40, n. 36.

For many lingering months he was the ſubject of a wearisome and hopeleſs illneſs. During the laſt two years of his life he was wholly diſabled, and performed none of the duties of his ſacred office. The neighboring clergy, moved by a warm, tender, and generous ſympathy, haſtened to offer and render to the pariſh and its devoted Rector ſuch ſervice as they could.[103] Tardily and gently the ſands of life paſſed away. The end came at laſt. He died in the little parſonage of King's Church in Providence on the 15th day of February, 1754.[104] Thus ended the earthly career of a true lover and heroic champion of the Church of England, a friend of the too much neglected Indian, a learned ſcholar, and a faithful and ſelf-conſecrated Miniſter of Chriſt.

[103] Beſides the neighboring clergy, the Rev. James Orem, chaplain of His Majeſty's ſhip *Jaſan*, officiated ſeveral months. He was firſt a miſſionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel at Briſtol, Rhode Iſland, where he remained a year, 1721–2, and was then appointed a chaplain, and removed to New York. *Vide Hiſtory of the Narraganſett Church*, by Wilkins Updike, pp. 409, 434; also *Digeſt of Records* of the Venerable Society, p. 853.

[104] *Vide Letter of Wardens of King's Church*, March 4, 1754, in *Hiſtory of the Epiſcopal Church in Narraganſett*, by Wilkins Updike, pp. 410–11.

THE WILL

OF THE

REV. JOHN CHECKLEY.

IN the name of God, Amen. I, John Checkley of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations in New England, Clerk, caling to mind the uncertainty of Human life, do make this my laſt Will and Teſtament, Principally and firſt of all, I recommend my ſole unto the hands of Almighty God, hoping for the forgivneſs of my ſins and eternal Life through the infinite merits and ſatisfaction of Ieſus Chriſt, my Saviour and Redeemer. My body I commit to the earth, to be decently interred at the diſcretion of my executrix hereafter named. As to my worldly goods, I will and diſpoſe of them in manner following.

Imprimis, my will is that all my just debts be paid as ſoon as conveniently they may by my executrix.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my granddaughter Anne Paget the ſum of twenty pounds to be paid by my executrix

executrix upon the day of my ſaid granddaughter's marriage, or arriving to the age of twenty one years.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my granddaughter, Rebekah Paget, the ſum of twenty pounds to be paid by my executrix upon the day of my ſaid granddaughter's marriage, or arriving at the age of twenty one years.

I give, bequeath and deviſe unto Rebeckah, my beloved wife, her heirs and aſſigns forever, all my lands in Providence aforeſaid, and all other my eſtate real and perſonal whereſoever it be, or of what kind ſoever it be, and I do hereby conſtitute and appoint my ſaid wife, Rebeckah, ſole executrix of this my laſt will and teſtament, and hereby revoke all other and former wills by me at any time made. I do declare this to be my laſt will and teſtament; In witneſs whereof I have hereto ſet my hand and ſeal this fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty two, and in the twenty ſeventh year of the reign of his Majeſty George the ſecond, of Great Britain, france and Ireland King, defender of the faith, &c.

Signed, ſealed, publiſhed and declared by the beforenamed John Checkley to be his laſt will and teſtament in the preſence of us,

JOHN MERRIT,
SAMUEL MILLER,
EBENEZER MILLER.[105]

Jnº CHECKLEY SEAL.

[105] Samuel and Ebenezer Miller were undoubtedly the brothers of Mrs. Checkley. The former was a gentleman of prominence in Milton, Maſſachuſetts; and the latter was the Rev. Dr. Miller, Rector of Chriſt Church, Braintree, now Quincy. *Vide antea*, p. 12, alſo the *Hiſtory of Milton*, for ſome account of the Miller family.

INVENTORY.

AN INVENTORY of the Perſonal Eſtate of the Revd Mr JOHN CHECKLEY of Providence, who Died the 15th day of February A. D. 1754, which exhibited to and approved by us the ſubſcribers as follows viz: —

In back Study: 2 Cheſts & 2 boxes & one ſquare table	£4	0	0
2 ſmall boxes, with fiſhing geer & Indian Toys[106] & ſom fiſhing rods	2	0	0
In the front ſtudy; 116 Glaſs Bottles	12	0	0
Other glaſs and Earthern ware	2	0	0
A box with money weights & ſcales	2	0	0
Lead & tin caniſters	1	0	0
A caſe of 12 bottles	3	0	0
A Chyrurgian ſaw 3 powder horns & 2 pairs of ſhears	3	0	0
2 Pair of Piſtols £3, 2 Guns £25	50	0	0
2 old Swords & 2 cannes	2	0	0

One

[106] Mr. Checkley was ſomething of an archæologiſt, and took a great intereſt in Indian implements and relics. There is a tradition in the family that he exchanged his gold watch for the wardreſs of King Philip, his war-club, belt, and pipe. Theſe were kept in the family till 1842, when they were loaned to a Mr. Robbins, a member of the Connecticut Hiſtorical Society, where they are ſaid ſtill to remain.

One cutlas & ſeveral Belts	£2	0	0
One pair of ſcales & weights	2	0	0
3 time Glaſſes 20/– & one Hammer 10/	1	10	0
One other ſword belt	2	0	0
Old caſks & boxes 40/ & box of old iron £5	7	0	0
In the back room; One Low caſe of Drawers	5	0	0
Two tables & one Joint Stool	11	0	0
4 chairs	2	0	0
One pair of handirons & Chimney Backs &c	6	0	0
2 pair of bellows 30/– one pair of tongs 10	2	0	0
2 wicker Hampers	2	0	0
1 fether bed and Furniture	60	0	0
1 Deſk	3	0	0
1 Shagreen caſe with knives & forks	5	0	0
One Medal of Count Staremberg in ſilver	12	15	0
1 Silver Snuff box with gilt crucifix &c[107]	50	5	0
1 Looking Glaſs	60	0	0
1 Braſs Globe for a ſteeple	5	0	0
2 cane arm chairs £10. 4 other chairs £4	14	0	0
2 bruſhes	1	0	0
1 pair of Hand Irons, ſhovel, tongs & Iron backs	10	0	0
1 Large ſilver ſpoon & 2 Do Teaſpoons	4	0	0
China & Glaſs Ware in the Beufett	20	0	0
1 pair Tobacco Tongs & 3 table cloaths	9	10	0
Chamber N° 1.; 1 Feather & furniture	61	0	0
4 chairs & one Table	2	0	0
Chamber N° 2: one feather bed & Furniture	50	0	0
1 ſeal-ſkin Trunk 30/– 2 chairs 10/	2	0	0
in Chamber N° 3; 1 bed and Furniture	20	0	0
2 chairs 10/ 1 ches. 20/–.	1	10	0
In the Kitchin; Pewter £50. coper £40. Brass £20	110	0	0
Iron ware £25. warming pans £4.	29	0	0
			1 pair

[107] The "Silver Snuff-box with gilt crucifix &c," is ſtill extant, and is in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Frederick Porter Winne, of Watertown, N. Y., a deſcendant of the Rev. John Checkley in the ſixth generation.

1 pair of caſt Dogs £3. Wooden ware £5 . . .	£8	0	0
In ye Dairyroom; one ſwivel Gun, 1 ſaddle & bridle & two leather buckets	10	0	0
In the yard: one grindſtone	2	0	0
In the kitchen chamber; a quantity of corn . . .	6	0	0
In the back-room; one Feather bed and furniture .	60	0	0
1 Low Cheſt of Drawers	5	0	0
1 Table & 2 chairs 50/- 1 looking glaſs £5 . . .	7	10	0
Six pair of ſheets & ſix pillow caſes	10	0	0
Wearing apparel	100	0	0
In ye cellar; Six barels of Cyder, ſom proviſions, caſks &c	30	0	0
3 Cows £30, £90, two mares £230	320	0	0
2 old Chairs & Harneſſes	100	0	0
1 Microſcope £20, 1 Teleſcope £20	40	0	0
1 Coharn (*churn?*) £5, a neſt of Braſs weight £3 .	8	0	0
1 hors cart &c	20	0	0
Books: viz 42 Volumes in folio	100	0	0
55 Volumes in quarto	27	10	0
242 Volumes in Octavo	240	0	0
187 Volumes in Duodecimo	100	0	0
Pamphlets in groſs	20	0	0
450 Volumes Short method with ye Deiſts	125	0	0
A large quantity of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French &c Books from fol to 24to[108] .	200	0	0
			92 pieces

[108] It would be intereſting to know the titles of the books. The 450 volumes of the *Short and Eaſy Method with the Deiſts* were probably given away or ſold ſome years after the ſettlement of the eſtate. The Rev. Noah Welles, of Stanford, now written Stamford, Connecticut, who publiſhed a diſcourſe againſt Epiſcopacy in 1763, ſays: "It is reported that among other pieces of that kind, the diſcourſe concerning epiſcopacy annexed to the *ſhort method with the deiſts*, publiſhed in Boſton about 40 years ago, and ſold by one JOHN CHECKLEY; which received ſundry anſwers when it firſt appeared, has been very induſtriouſly handed about of late among the epiſcopalians in this part of the country."

92 pieces of paint (*prints?*), Grate & Small . . . £26 — 0 — 0
One Gold Ring ſet with ſix ſtones coſs faſhing (*croſs faſhion?*) one caſtal (*cryſtal?*) and the other five Brilliant Dimonds; more books diſcovered . . 40 — 0 — 0

£2530 — 5 — 0

The above Inventory was begun the 18 & 19th Days of March 1754 and completed ye 17th day of May next following by us the Subſcribers GEO. TAYLOR
JOHN COLE

The above written Inventory was at the town Council held at Providence on ye 27th day of May A. D. 1754, Examined, proved, approved, and allowed Teſte RICHARD WATERMAN
Clerk of the Council.

Recorded ye 29th of May 1754
per RICHARD WATERMAN, Clerk.

NOTE. — Beſide the perſonal eſtate included in this inventory, the Rev. John Checkley left the following parcels of real eſtate in Providence, purchaſed as follows: —

June 22, 1743. Twenty-two acres in Providence, at a place called the Neck, which coſt £400 0 0

Nov. 24, 1744. Between ſix and ſeven acres adjoining the land already purchaſed by him at the Neck, for which he paid £201 18 9

April 26, 1745. Mr. Checkley purchaſed an eſtate on Town Street, having frontage of 70 feet, with a houſe on it, for the ſum . . £1180 0 0

Dec. 14, 1750. Mr. Checkley and Henry Paget purchaſed of Joſeph Whipple of Newport

port two acres more or leſs in Providence Co., now Lincoln, R. I. £300 0 0

April 7, 1746. The Rev. John Checkley ſold to Henry Paget the eſtate purchaſed the year before for the ſame ſum paid for it, viz. . . £1180 0 0

June 4, 1760. Rebecca, widow of the Rev. John Checkley, ſold half of a wood-lot which her huſband had of Hoſannah Brown . . . £350 0 0

From the above it appears that Mr. Checkley's real eſtate in Providence, at the valuation of the purchaſe and ſales, amounted to the ſum of £1101 18 9

The Scrivener muſt be reſponſible for the orthography of many words both in the Will and the Inventory.

THE CHECKLEY FAMILY.

THE parents of the Rev. John Checkley reſided in Boſton, were of Engliſh nationality, and in ſufficiently affluent circumſtances to give their ſon a ſomewhat expenſive education both in this country and in England, ſupplemented by extenſive travel on the continent of Europe. Beyond this the uſual ſources yield no information. There were other families bearing the name of Checkley in Boſton, prominent in civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs, but no relationſhip with that of the Rev. John Checkley has been traced. The Rev. John Checkley was born in Boſton, in 1680. A pretty full account of his life and career will be found in the earlier pages of this work. He married Rebecca, daughter of Samuel Miller, of Milton, Maſs., May 28, 1713. She died in Providence, R. I., and was buried Nov. 27, 1775. Her huſband, the Rev. Mr. Checkley, died on the 15th day of February, 1754, in the parſonage of King's Church, ſituated on a glebe of eighteen acres, on Providence Neck, near Swan Point Cemetery and Butler Hoſpital, being about a mile and a half from King's Church, now St. John's,

John's, Providence. The glebe and parſonage came into poſſeſſion of the pariſh in 1734, and were occupied by Mr. Checkley during his entire rectorſhip. The property was ſold in 1794, but the old parſonage is ſtill ſtanding. The Rev. Mr. Checkley "was buried in front of the Old Church, between it and the ſtreet," and it is highly probable that his wife was buried near him. In 1810, "when the earth was removed at the building of the new church, all the graves there diſappeared, and the grave-ſtones alſo. Whither they were removed is not known. . . . At the building of the new church nearly a cart-load of old grave-ſtones were deſtroyed, or carried away." The above ſtatement is taken from an *Hiſtorical Diſcourſe*, by the Rt. Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D.D., June 11, 1872, on the one hundred and fiftieth anniverſary of the Pariſh. It is underſtood that the ſtatements in this diſcourſe were made after careful inveſtigation, and at that time perſons were living who well remembered the old wooden church. The account, therefore, may be regarded as hiſtorically correct. *Vide Hiſtorical Diſcourſe*, p. 34.

It is a remarkable though diſcreditable fact, that in the early part of this century there was an extraordinary indifference in regard to the memorials of the dead. The ancient cemeteries were ſtrangely neglected. In ſome inſtances the inſcribed ſtones were taken up and planted beneath the ſurface, thus facilitating the forgetfulneſs of the living. May we not hope that at no diſtant day a marble or bronze ſlab may be placed on the walls of St. John's Church, with an inſcription memorial of the Rev. John Checkley, M.A., its able, learned, and faithful Rector from the beginning to the end of his miniſtry?

The

The children of the Rev. John Checkley and his wife Rebecca were as follows: —

1. Debora, daughter of the Rev. John Checkley, was born Oct. 13, 1717; ſhe died April 15, 1793; ſhe married Henry Paget, Eſq., an Iriſh gentleman of Providence, R. I. He was born April 15, 1715, and died Jan. 15, 1772. He was a merchant, and an active and prominent member of King's Church, Providence. He was often appointed on important committees, was ſometime one of the veſtry, and was Warden, 1761–63.
2. John, ſon of the Rev. John Checkley, was baptized in King's Chapel, Boſton, Oct. 20, 1719. He graduated at Harvard College in 1738, took orders in the Church of England in 1744, and died in London ſoon after of ſmall-pox. *Vide antea,* pp. 106–7.
3. Rebecca, daughter of the Rev. John Checkley, was baptized in King's Chapel, Boſton, March 25, 1722. No further information has been obtained, and it is preſumed ſhe died young.

It may be here ſtated that in the records of burials in King's Chapel, Boſton, is the name of "Elizabeth Checkley, Oct. 21, 1718." She may have been, and probably was, the daughter of the Rev. John Checkley, born about 1715; this however can only be conjectured.

Debora, daughter of the Rev. John Checkley, was born Oct. 13, 1717; ſhe married Henry Paget, Eſq., a merchant of Providence, R. I. Their children were as follows: —

1. Anne;

1. Anne; married Capt. Joſeph Olney, Jr., of Providence, R. I.
2. Rebecca; married, 1ſt, Dr. Joſeph Harriſon; 2d, Col. George Olney.
3. Henry John Checkley, born about 1760; was buried Oct. 10, 1760, aged 10 years.
4. Angelica, born about 1754; was buried Sept. 28, 1760, aged 6 years.

ANNE, daughter of Debora Checkley and Henry Paget; married Capt. Joſeph Olney, Jr., of Providence, R. I., Nov. 28, 1762. On the 22d of December, 1775, Congreſs appointed, among other naval officers, Joſeph Olney as a ſecond lieutenant. He was ſubſequently commiſſioned as a captain. Was not this the Capt. Joſeph Olney, Jr., above mentioned? *Vide Hiſtory of the Navy*, by J. Fenimore Cooper, Vol. I. pp. 102, 162 *et alibi.*

Their children were as follows, all of whom were baptized in King's Church, now St. John's, Providence: —

1. Rebecca, baptized March 17, 1765; married Dr. Henry Malcolm.
2. Sarah, baptized May 11, 1766; married Col. James Waller Head.
3. Angelica, baptized April 10, 1768; married the Hon. Ezekiel Gilbert.
4. Anne Checkley, baptized Oct. 14, 1770; married, 1ſt, John Shipboy, 2d, William MacBeth.
5. Henry Paget, born June 9, 1774; baptized July 31, 1774; died March 20, 1809.
6. Joſeph, baptized Aug. 27, 1777. He is ſaid to have ſettled in Tenneſſee.

REBECCA,

Rebecca, daughter of Debora Checkley and Henry Paget, married, 1ſt, June 2, 1776, Dr. Joſeph Harriſon, a phyſician and ſurgeon of Providence, R. I. Their daughter, Suſannah Harriſon, was baptized in King's Church, April 27, 1777. Dr. Harriſon died inteſtate, and his widow was granted adminiſtration on his eſtate July 20, 1778. Tradition ſays "ſhe married 2d Col George Olney and had two children, *Ruth* and *George* neither of whom married." In the Records of King's, now St. John's, Church, Providence, is the following: "Ruth Paget, daughter of George Olney, baptiſed January 21, 1779." The record thus confirms the tradition that George Olney had a daughter, Ruth, and thereby ſtrengthens the tradition that he had a ſon, George. Was not this ſon the ſame George Olney who was prominent in St. John's Church when the new church was erected in 1810? More extenſive inveſtigation might decide this queſtion. *Vide Hiſtory of the Narraganſett Church*, by Wilkins Updike, pp. 419, 430 *et alibi*.

The deſcendants of Anne Paget, granddaughter of the Rev. John Checkley and wife of Capt. Joſeph Olney, Jr., are numerous. It will not be poſſible to give a full genealogical account of them in this Memoir. Names and dates have been given when it was practicable to do ſo. Each of the four daughters of Anne Paget and Capt. Joſeph Olney, Jr., and their reſpective deſcendants, will be treated ſeparately, in the order of their births.

Rebecca, the eldeſt daughter of Anne Paget and Capt. Joſeph Olney, baptized in King's Church, Providence, R. I., March 17, 1765, married Dr. Henry Malcolm, who was born Dec. 12, 1756. He was a ſurgeon in the war of the Revolution,

Revolution, and we are informed by one of his deſcendants that he ſerved on the ſhip *Columbus*, Capt. Abraham Whipple, and likewiſe on the ſhip *Andrea Doria*, Capt. Nicholas Biddle. He alſo ſerved with Dr. William Shippen in the Medical Department of the Army. After the cloſe of the war, he removed to Hudſon, N. Y., where he paſſed the remainder of his life in the practice of his profeſſion. He died April 18, 1831. Their children were as follows: —

1. Donald, born Feb. 7, 1784; married Ermine Hawkins.
2. Margaretta Ward, born Jan. 14, 1787; died young.
3. Anne Paget, born Oct. 13, 1789; m. 1ſt, George Clinton Hamilton, 2d, Frederick Porter.
4. Angelica, born March 30, 1792; married Joſeph Gibbons Malcolm.
5. Amelia, born April 13, 1794; died unmarried.
6. Henry, born June 9, 1796; died unmarried.
7. William, born Feb. 18, 1800; died in New Orleans, unmarried.
8. Robert Munćton, born July 20, 1802. He is ſaid to have been married, but no further information has been obtained.
9. Margaretta Ward, born Nov. 25, 1805.

1. Donald, born Feb. 7, 1784; married Ermine Hawkins, and had (1) Jane, who married William Winne, of New York, whoſe deſcendants are ſaid to reſide in New York City, (2) Emma, (3) Mary, (4) Maria, (5) George, (6) Angelica.

2. Anne Paget, born Oct. 13, 1789, who died in October, 1853; married, 1ſt, George Clinton Hamilton, a lawyer of Hudſon,

Hudſon, N. Y. He died Nov. 27, 1820, at the age of 30 years. Their only daughter, Elizabeth Gregg Hamilton, born June 12, 1812, died July 9, 1838, married Maj. James Winne. Their eldeſt ſon is the Rev. Frederick Porter Winne, a miniſter of Trinity Church, Watertown, in the Dioceſe of Central New York. His ſon, John Checkley Winne, organiſt in the Cathedral of the Dioceſe of Arkanſas, died Oct. 3, 1891. A window has been placed to his memory in the Cathedral at Little Rock. The Rev. Mr. Winne's daughter Elizabeth Hamilton reſides in Watertown, N. Y.

The ſecond ſon of Elizabeth Gregg Hamilton Winne is George Clinton Hamilton Winne, who with ſeveral children reſides in Albany, N. Y.; namely, Mrs. Frederick J. Wing, Mrs. William J. Bogardus, Mr. Harrie Bell Winne, and Miſs Carrie Winne.

Anne Paget (Malcolm), born Oct. 13, 1789, married, 2d, Frederick Porter, a merchant of Albany, N. Y., who died in 1853. They had Henry Malcolm, and Maria Lawrence, who married Charles Schoolcraft, of Albany, and had John L. and William. John L. Schoolcraft was a lawyer of note in Adrian, Mich. Mrs. Schoolcraft married, 2d, Dr. Laird, a phyſician, who died in Adrian, Mich., where Mrs. Laird and her children ſtill reſide.

Angelica, daughter of Rebecca Olney and Dr. Henry Malcolm, born March 30, 1792; married at Hudſon, N. Y., Nov. 8, 1813, her couſin, Joſeph Gibbons Malcolm, of Philadelphia, who was born Feb. 15, 1785. Their children were as follows: —

1. Eſther Barton, born Oct. 1, 1818; married John Lloyd.

2. Angelica

2. Angelica Gilbert, born Nov. 19, 1820; married William Ryan, and had Angelica, who married Sylvanus Miller Davidſon.
3. John Gibbons, born Nov. 3, 1824.
4. Robert Munćton, born April 6, 1827; reſides in Moline, Illinois, and has eight children.
5. Henry, born April 6, 1827. Twin with preceding.
6. Jane, born Auguſt 31, 1829.
7. William, born Dec. 24, 1831.

ESTHER BARTON, daughter of Angelica Malcolm and Joſeph Gibbons Malcolm, born Oćt. 1, 1818; married John Lloyd, of Philadelphia, and had: —

1. Malcolm, who married Anna Howell, and had (1) Howell, (2) Malcolm, (3) Stacy Bancroft, (4) Francis Vernon, (5) Anna, (6) Eſther Malcolm, (7) Mary Carpenter.
2. Iſaac, not married.
3. Elizabeth Gibbons, not married.
4. Eſtelle Barton married Henry Troth Coates, Publiſher, of Philadelphia.
5. John, not married.
6. Anne Morris married William Morriſon Coates, and had (1) Eſther Malcolm, (2) Samuel, (3) Benjamin, (4) John Lloyd, (5) Helen Langdale.
7. Laura married George Morriſon Coates, and had (1) Eliza, (2) Eleanor Percy, (3) Mary, (4) Malcolm Vernon, (5) Laura Lloyd, (6) Edward Oſborne.
8. Emma Malcolm, married S. Aſhton Souder, and had (1) Edmund Lloyd, (2) Donald Malcolm, (3) Aſhton, (4) Thatcher.

9. Mary

9. Mary Bancroft, married Norman Mariott Jones, and had (1) Lloyd Penniſton, (2) Ethel Mariott, (3) Edwin Olney.

The above deſcendants of Eſther Barton Malcolm and John Lloyd are reſidents of Philadelphia, Penn.

SARAH, the ſecond daughter of Anne Paget and Capt. Joſeph Olney; baptized May 11, 1766, and died Dec. 7, 1804; married Col. James Waller Head, of Warren, Me. He was born in Boſton in 1766, and baptized in Trinity Church in that city, July 5, 1766. He was apprenticed in his youth to "Clark and Nightingale," merchants of Providence, R. I. On reaching his majority in 1787, he ſettled as a merchant in Warren, Me. He conducted a large buſineſs in dry and Weſt India goods, in lumber, and to ſome extent in ſhipbuilding and commerce. During his reſidence in Providence he became attached to Miſs Sarah Olney, and they were married May 16, 1788. He was a magiſtrate, colonel of a regiment when there were but two in the Province, a delegate to the Convention held in Boſton for the ratification of the Conſtitution of the United States by Maſſachuſetts, while Maine was a part of that State, and was a foremoſt citizen in the affairs of the town and county. He died in Warren, Aug. 17, 1861. After the death of his wife, Sarah Olney, Col. Head married, 2d, Frances Sandford, and had Thomas Sandford, who died in infancy, and Martha Derby, baptized July 15, 1810; ſhe married John Brooks, of Portland, Oct. 3, 1839, and died Sept. 23, 1840. He was an uncle of the late Biſhop Phillips Brooks, of Boſton.

The children of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head were as follows: —

1. Angelica

1. Angelica Gilbert, born Dec. 1, 1789; married William Hovey.
2. James, born Sept. 24, 1791; married Jeruſha Gelſton Dwight.
3. Sarah Olney, born June 24, 1794; married Henry Flagg, Sept. 20, 1813.
4. Maria Halſey, born April 22, 1796; married Thomas Gelſton Sandford, Sept. 20, 1813.
5. Jean McKenzie, born March 27, 1799; died July 23, 1804.
6. Joſeph Olney, born Jan. 20, 1802; he died Sept. 12, 1819, on his paſſage from Bermuda to his home in Maine.

ANGELICA GILBERT, born Dec. 1, 1789, daughter of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head, married William Hovey, a merchant of Warren, Me., Dec. 3, 1806. Their eldeſt daughter, Sarah Frances Head, married Thomas Hodgman, a merchant of Warren, and had Frances Maria, Martha Derby Head who died Oct. 1, 1844, and William Hovey. Frances Maria Hodgman married the Hon. Edwin Smith, a Senator of the State of Maine, and had Carrie Emerſon and Frances Hodgman, both deceaſed. William Hovey Hodgman, now of Medford, Maſs., married Emeline Auguſta Cuſhman; and their children are Edwin Smith, Sewall Cuſhman, Percy Herbert, and Fred William.

Angelica Head, ſecond daughter of Angelica Gilbert Head and William Hovey, married her couſin Warren F. Hovey, of Eaſt Machias, Me., and had a large family, moſt of whom died young. Their ſon, Urban Hitchcock, married Emma

Emma Miller, of Lincolnville, Me., and left two daughters, Frances Marion Hovey and Joſephine Buxton Hovey, who reſide in Warren, Me. Julia Hitchcock, daughter of Urban Hitchcock Hovey, married John Miller, of Rockland, Me., and left no iſſue.

James, the eldeſt ſon of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head, born Sept. 24, 1791, reſided in Portland, Me., where he died March 30, 1835. He married Jeruſha Gelſton Dwight, Oct. 5, 1829. Their only child was Ellenore Waller, born Jan. 11, 1832. She married her couſin, Thomas Hovey Sandford, May 3, 1854. He died June 20, 1880. Their children were as follows: —

1. Edith Dwight, born June 4, 1857, in Brooklyn, N. Y. She married in Tōkȳo, Japan, December, 1881, 1ſt, Frederick William Strange, of London, England; he died in 1889. Their children are Frederick Baily, born March 25, 1883, and Ellenore Martha, born Aug. 10, 1884. Mrs. Edith Dwight Strange married, 2d, Capt. Alexander Etienne Bougoüin, of Nantes, France, an officer of the French Army. They were married in Tōkȳo, Japan, where Capt. Bougoüin is at preſent ſtationed.
2. Frederick Swift, born in Orange, N. J., May 16, 1862. He married, in January, 1890, Minna Dorothea, daughter of Frederick Ferdinand Bunker, of New York. He reſides in Orange Vale, Sacramento Co., California.
3. Parker Dwight, born in Orange, N. J., Dec. 3, 1865; died in Pownal, Me., Oct. 5, 1868.

After the death of her huſband, Mrs. Head married, 2d, John Parker Boyd, a lawyer of Portland, Me., and had Parker

Parker Dwight; Suſan Coffin, who married William Cook, a profeſſor in Harvard Univerſity; and Mary Dwight, who married Franklin Ripley Barrett.

SARAH OLNEY, ſecond daughter of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head, born June 24, 1794, married Henry Flagg, of Bangor, Sept. 20, 1813. Their children were as follows: —

1. Frances Maria, who married Frederick A. Jarvis, and had (1) Joſephine H., who married George C. Folſome, and reſides in Welleſley, Maſs., (2) Francis P., (3) Sarah J., Welleſley, Maſs., (4) Maria Sandford, (5) Anna, (6) Frederic William, Boſton, Maſs.
2. Henry Joſeph, died 1866, in Chicago, Ill.
3. James Head, reſidence Clarence, Ill.
4. Edmund Webſter, died in 1873.
5. William Hovey, reſides in Bangor, Me.
6. Arthur French, died in 1891, in Clarence, Ill.

MARIA HALSEY, third daughter of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head; born April 22, 1796; died Feb. 9, 1831; married Thomas Gelſton Sandford, of Topſham, Me., Sept. 20, 1813. The following are their children: —

1. James Head, born Aug. 13, 1814; married Dorothy Burton, Oct. 17, 1837. They had *gemini*, James Head and Edward T., born 1840. On the death of his wife he again married, and with a ſon, George Dwight, removed to Minneſota. The above-named Edward T. Sandford was ſettled as a Baptiſt miniſter in St. Johnſbury, Vt. He removed to California.

2. Thomas

2. Thomas Hovey, ſecond ſon of Maria Halſey Head and Thomas Gelſton Sandford, born in Topſham, Me., April 11, 1816; married, 1ſt, Caroline Mary Bond, Sept. 6, 1837, and had:—
   (1) Adelaide McKenzie, born in Bangor, Me., Dec. 18, 1841; died, unmarried, Oct. 1, 1870.
   (2) Lucretia Bond, born May 4, 1844, in Bangor; married, 1ſt, in Orange, N. J., Aug. 15, 1874, Henry Auguſtus Howe, of Orange, N. J., reſidence in Nagaſaki, Japan. Their children are Edith Helen, born in Nagaſaki, July 30, 1875, and Henry Arnold, born in Tōkȳo, Japan, Dec. 12, 1879. After the death of her huſband, Mrs. Howe married, 2d, in Tōkȳo, Japan, July 8, 1893, Alexander McMillan, of London, England, reſiding in Tōkȳo.

   Thomas Hovey Sandford married, 2d, his couſin, Ellenore Waller Head, and had:—
   (3) Edith Dwight, born June 4, 1857.
   (4) Frederick Swift, born May 16, 1862.
   (5) Parker Dwight, born Dec. 3, 1865.

   Vide antea, family of James, eldeſt ſon of Col. James Waller Head, and Sarah Olney, p. 134.
3. Frances Head, the eldeſt daughter of Maria Halſey and Thomas Gelſton Sandford, born Nov. 12, 1817; married, Sept. 7, 1836, Nehemiah Ordway Pillſbury, of Bangor, Me., and died about 1852, leaving a ſon, Thomas Sandford Pillſbury.
4. William, born June 30, 1819; died in 1827.
5. Joſeph Head, the fourth ſon of Maria Halſey Head and Thomas Gelſton Sandford, born Sept. 17, 1820; died April 30.

April 30, 1891, in Chelſea, Maſs.; married Mary Jane Valentine, of Bangor, Me., July 17, 1843. Their children are:—

(1) Gelſton, born Sept. 19, 1845; died Aug. 11, 1846.
(2) Joſeph Head, born Sept. 27, 1846; married Clara Joſephine Elliot, of Everett, Maſs., and had Elliot, who married Jan. 11, 1890, Blanche Atkinſon, of Temple, Arizona, and they have Violet Blanche, born Dec. 3, 1890, and George Elliot, born Dec., 1893.
(3) Frank Valentine, born April 13, 1850; married Jennie Gilbert, of Chelſea, Maſs., Oct. 12, 1871. Their children are Gertrude Brenkerhoff, Herbert Valentine, Frederick Gilbert, and Grace May.
(4) Thomas Hovey, born Nov. 13, 1857, died March 4, 1859.
(5) Minnie Frances, born Nov. 30, 1861, married Francis Green, of New York, Dec. 29, 1887.

6. Gelſton, the fifth ſon of Maria Halſey Head and Thomas Gelſton Sandford, born Oct. 12, 1826; died in Warren, November, 1837.
7. Maria Head, ſecond daughter of Maria Halſey Head and Thomas Gelſton Sandford, born Dec. 31, 1830, married Henry M. Snell, of Boſton, and had Joſeph Dix, born Feb. 11, 1864, and Mary Sandford, born Feb. 21, 1870. Mrs. Snell and her ſon reſide in Aſhmont, Maſs.

Angelica, the third daughter of Anne Paget and Capt. Joſeph Olney; baptized, April 10, 1768; married the Hon.

Ezekiel Gilbert, of Hudſon, N. Y. He was a lawyer, and ſometime a member of Congreſs. Their children were: Angelica, William Henry, and Edward. They left no deſcendants.

ANNE CHECKLEY, fourth daughter of Anne Paget and Capt. Joſeph Olney, baptized Oct. 14, 1770, died June 19, 1803. She married, 1ſt, John Shipboy of Albany, N. Y., he died without iſſue. She married, 2d, William MacBeth, a native of Scotland; he was a trader and had a ſtore in Warren; he died in Waldoborough, Me., April 25, 1840. Their children were as follows: —

1. Henry, ſon of Anne Checkley Olney and William MacBeth, married and died in Liverpool, England.
2. Angelica Gilbert, daughter of Anne Checkley Olney and William MacBeth, married Dr. Daniel James, of New Hartford, N. Y., Sept. 26, 1842; ſhe died without iſſue.
3. Beatrice W., daughter of Anne Checkley Olney and William MacBeth, married Francis Overlock, of Waldoborough, Me., Oct. 27, 1825, and had (1) Olivia Buxton, who married George Fiſh, of Waldoborough, Me.; ſhe died June 13, 1849. (2) William Henry, who reſides in Thomaſton, Me. (3) Pelham Francis. (4) Margaret Keizer, who married William Fuller, and reſides in North Warren, Me. The names of her children are Frances Beatrice, Fred Oſcar, Le Foreſt, of Fitchburg, Maſs.; Mabel Angeline, Laura Anna, of North Warren, Me. (5) Anne Checkley. (6) Angelica Gilbert, who married Sandford Laſh, of Waldoborough, Me.
4. Julia,

4. Julia, daughter of Anne Checkley Olney and William MacBeth, baptized June 12, 1803, married Edward Manning, of Waldoborough, Me., April 13, 1826. The names of their children are as follows: (1) Angelica; (2) Hannah E.; (3) Maria Sandford; (4) Henry J., married Emily French, and had Henry William and Edward Elſworth, res. Roxbury, Maſs.; (5) Mary A., married Domingus Roderick, and had Cora, res. Chelſea, Maſs.; (6) Margaret C., married William Deering, and had Fred W. and George R., res. Topsfield, Maſs.; (7) A. Maria, married Iſaac Bray Young, and had Roderick B. and Edward H., res. Topsfield, Maſs.; (8) Beatrice M., married George H. Kirk, and had Mary A. and M. Florence, res. Topsfield, Maſs.; (9) Edward F.; (10) Eliza L., married, 1ſt, Eben E. Wolton, and had Julia M., Henry D., Cora R., married, 2d, Henry Stone, res. Topsfield.

CHOICE DIALOGUES

BETWEEN A

GODLY MINISTER,

AND AN

HONEST COUNTRY-MAN,

CONCERNING

ELECTION & PREDESTINATION.

Detecting the falſe Principles of a certain Man, who calls himſelf a *Preſbyter* of the *Church* of *England.*

By a *Reverend* and *Laborious* Paſtor in *Chriſt's Flock*, by *One* who has been, for almoſt *twice thirty years*, a *faithful* & *Painful Labourer* in *Chriſt's Vine-yard.*

For whom he did foreknow, he alſo did predeſtinate to be *conformed to the Image of his Son, that he might be the firſt-born among many Brethren. Moreover, whom he did predeſtinate, them he alſo called: and whom he called, them he alſo juſtified; and whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified.* — Rom. 8. 29, 30.

TO THE READER:

I DESIRE to premiſe a few things, concerning the following *Dialogues*, and the Occaſion of their Publication. As to the *Dialogues* themſelves they contain a rich and precious ſtore of ſpiritual Knowledge and godly Comfort. They ſpeak to the Hearts of Men in a very eaſie and familiar manner, ſo that the meaneſt *Plough-man*, the very meaneſt of God's People may underſtand them. They treat of that deep but comfortable Doctrin, (that *Soul-pierceing* Doctrin to the wicked and unregenerate, but *Soul-refreſhing* and *Heart-comforting* Doctrin to the Saints, to all righteous and godly Folk;) I mean the Doctrin of *Election* and *Predeſtination.*

And now as to the Occaſion of the Publication of theſe *Dialogues.* Alas *Chriſtians!* I fear there is too, too great Occaſion for them. The many pernicious (and I fear Alas! *Soul-deſtroying*) Books that have been handed up and down in the *Country* as well as *City*, to poiſon and debauch Men's Minds, call aloud for theſe *Dialogues* (or other

other ſuch like Diſcourſes) to rectifie Men's Opinions in theſe Matters. There have been many wicked Books written (by the inſtigation of the *Old Serpent* who goes about to deceive) which put falſe Comments & horrid *Anti-Chriſtian* Gloſſes upon the *beſt of Books*, the Fountain of all true and Divine Wiſdom. I mean our holy and *precious Bible*. Theſe *Dialogues* will rightly inſtruct Men concerning the true *Scripture Doctrines* of *Election* and *Predeſtination*. Theſe, theſe plain, but *Heart-enlightening Dialogues* will ſhew Thee (*Chriſtian Reader*) what was the Opinion of the holy *Martyrs* of the Church in the firſt and pureſt Ages of *Chriſtianity* concerning theſe Doctrines; & oh! I am ſure we ought to follow them, them I ſay who were taught the *Faith* of *Chriſt* from the Mouthes of the *Apoſtles* or *apoſtolick* Men, and dyed glorious *Martyrs* to the Truth; I ſay we ought to mind what theſe ſay, rather than harken to the deluſions of the *great Whore*, the *Scarlet Whore*, the *Whore* of *Babylon*, that great *Anti-Chriſt*, & others who in later Ages have newvampt her wicked and *Soul-murthering* Maxims, and have ſent them abroad to bewitch the Nations. Oh *Chriſtians! Fellow-Chriſtians* and *Proteſtants!* Theſe are direful Things, ah, theſe are *Heart-afflicting Matters!* that we ſhou'd ever hear of them in a *Land* of *Light!* No, let us not follow theſe *blind Guides;* who (if we do) will certainly lead us into the Ditch, but as I ſaid before, let us follow the Example of the *primitive Church*, and give Ear to thoſe *pious* and *godly Fathers* of the *Church*, who will teach us the Truth in Sincerity. Here I cannot but take notice of the ſad and deplorable Degeneracy of Mankind, who are grown (many of them) to that Height of *malicious ſcorning* of others who happen

happen (tho' *conſcientiouſly*) to diſſent from them, that they will neither read the Books publiſh'd by ſuch Men, *nor ſuffer others to read them, if they can help it:* This, this is an *unchriſtian-like Practice.* This is ſo unlike the *kind Dealing* which *Chriſtianity* always makes uſe of, and ſo like the horrid Practice of the *Synagogue* of *Rome*, that we *Chriſtians* ought to abhor it. For the *Papiſhes* will Suffer no Books of the *Proteſtants* (whom they call *Hereticks*) *to be Printed in their Countries*, neither will they ſuffer their *Diſciples* (or rather *Slaves*) to read them: I ſay *Slaves*, becauſe thoſe *Maſters* who will not ſuffer their *Proſelytes* to make Enquiry whether the Doctrines they teach them be true or falſe. They, I ſay, whom they thus teach, are ſo far from being *Diſciples*, that they are *mean*, they are *ſervile* & *abject Slaves;* and utterly *unlike* the *rational Bereans*, who are called *noble* in *Scripture, for examining whether thoſe Things were ſo or not.* The *Scripture* bids us examine *all Things*, and hold faſt that which is *beſt.* But the Meaning of this Exhortation is not, that we ſhou'd be *forever reading*, *reading* all Books that are publiſh'd, for indeed many of them *are not worth the Reading.* Indeed I have hear'd People ſay that there is ſcarce one in twenty of the Books written by *Diſſenters* that have *common ſenſe* in them. Whether this be true or not, *let the World judge.* But if it be true, *I hope they will take more heed for the future.* But be it true or not true, this I am ſure is a true ſaying, *viz: Wiſdom is juſtified of her Children.* I muſt ſay one Word more concerning this Matter, (by way of Apology for their *crude* and *undigeſted Notions*) that if the Writings of the *Nonconformiſts* of all *Denominations* be not quite ſo *Polite* as the

Works of ſome others, it may be, *the cauſe of it is their Writing ſo much;* for when Men write Books *faſter than People can read them*, their Method of reaſoning too *being perfectly circular*, and their Motion being so *exceeding quick*, (*Poor Men!*) they can't help being *a little giddy*. But there is another Reaſon, and a charitable one too. There is a vaſt Deal of Paper made in that *moſt chriſtian Country* (in ſome Men's Eſteem) *Holland*, ſo much that they ſcarce know what to do with it all; and ſome Men think it an Act of Charity, not to let any Thing ly upon the Hands of our good *Allies*, and *true Proteſtant Brethren*, the *Dutch*. Therefore their Charity, with their *Luſt* after *Writing*, forces them to buy it up, and then cramm it full of *painfull* and *Labourious Searches* and *Re-Searches* after the *Truth*, and in *Soul-Cheriſhing* and *Heart-helping Works* of *Edification*, *Recumbency* and *Regeneration*, *Miſterious Tractates all!* If what has been ſaid concerning the Writings of *Diſſenters* be true, (as ſome Men ſay they can make it appear) I hope the *riſing Generation* will mend the Matter. And to let Thee ſee what Hopes thou may'ſt have of their ſo doing; I will give Thee ſome Account of the Parts of ſome of tht *Riſing Generation*, who tho' (it muſt be confeſt) they are but *Striplings*) yet they are (ſome of them) *wonderful*, *wonderful Striplings!* It has been remarked by ſome of the *Hearers*, that (*oh dear!*) *they can ſay what they pleaſe; that even in publick Prayer to God they can ſay even what they pleaſe;* (and there are ſome People who think indeed that *they do ſay what they pleaſe*) there be others who can preach a long *Sermon* without uſing any *Notes*, nay and *preach* three ſuch *Sermons* in one Day. There be others in this *Country* likewiſe,

wiſe, (but from whence they came, or how they came hither we know not; but no Matter for that, we have them, & *able Men they are*) there be *others* who I ſay are very extraordinary: whoſe zeal for *preaching* (if we may believe common Fame) was ſo great, that they (poor Hearts half ſtarv'd) left their *dear Country*, and *all that they had in the World*, (that is their Packs) to come into *Foreign Parts to Preach.* But there are ſome (to their Praiſe be it ſpoken) who are of an higher *Order* and *Abilities* than theſe; concerning one *of whom*, one of the *Riſing Generation*, there has been lately pronounc'd, by a *celebrated Writer*, a very extraordinary Speech, ſo extraordinary that I beg leave to tranſcribe part of it: (the *Quinteſſence*) it is this, *viz:* —

"*Highly favoured of God*, are the *Churches* enriched with *Paſtors* of bright *Abilities*, for the building and ſerving of his Temple: *Able* to underſtand the *Sacred Oracles* even in the Languages wherein they are given us, and illuſtrate them from an intimate Acquaintance with *Antiquity:* . . . *Able* to maintain the Truth with *Armour* fetch'd from the *Tower* of *David*, and convince or confound *Gainſayers*, that go to perplex us with their *Controverſies*."[109]

Here (I beſeech ye) let me adviſe *Gainſayers* to take heed how

[109] This extract is from a ſpeech by the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, on giving the right hand of fellowſhip to the Rev. Thomas Prince, A.M., at his ordination in the Old South Church in Boſton, Oct. 1, 1718. Mr. Prince preached the ſermon on the occaſion, and Dr. Increaſe Mather gave a charge. The whole proceedings were publiſhed. The extract refers to the Rev. Thomas Walter, a young man of unuſual promiſe, a grandſon of Dr. Increaſe Mather, and nephew of Dr. Cotton Mather. Mr. Walter ſubſequently reviewed this pamphlet in a brochure entitled a "Choice dialogue between John Fauſtus, a conjurer, and Jack Tory, his friend. By a Young Strippling." He evidently aſſumes this ſobriquet in alluſion to a remark of Mr. Checkley in a preceding ſentence in which he refers to him as a "ſtrippling."

how they oppoſe them, for here's nothing but *convince* or *Confound*, ſtand clear, for here's no Quarter to be given. If anything ſhould be objected againſt the following Papers, (as I expect there will, for there are many who call themſelves *Church of England-Men*, who won't like what theſe Papers contain) I ſay if any Thing ſhou'd be ſaid againſt the Doctrins laid down herein, it is expected that ſome of theſe *Gentlemen* (who are ſo able to *convince* or *Confound*) will let the world know, whether what the following Pages contain is the *true Scripture Doctrine* of theſe Matters or not. And indeed I will help the *Gentlemen* (becauſe they are young) to an unanſwerable Argument, and ſuch as the meaneſt ploughman may apprehend; and 'tis this, *viz.* (if any Man in anſwer to theſe Papers, ſhou'd argue upon their old *Hypotheſis* of *Secret Decrees*) I would have them make uſe of this Argument: *That two abſolute Contradictions cannot both be true, but the Will of the true God reveal'd to us in holy Scripture is an abſolute Contradiction to thoſe ſtoical and fatal Schemes; Therefore it is impoſſible that thoſe Schemes can be true.* The *Minor* is prov'd to a Demonſtration in the following Sheets.

Before I conclude this *Preface*, I beg leave to give a little Advice to thoſe Perſons into whoſe hands theſe Papers may fall, that they wou'd not, if they happen to find any Thing *diſpleaſing to them*, immediately throw them out of their Hands; it may be they may take Offence without Reaſon; but I entreat them to read them quite thro', leſt they may be guilty of *Injuſtice*, by giving Sentence *before the Trial of the Matter.* I conclude with an hearty Deſire that theſe Papers may be attentively read over, *and for this Reaſon*, becauſe

becauſe they will rightly inſtruct Thee concerning ſome of thoſe Things in *Paul's* Epiſtles, which *Peter* ſays are hard to be underſtood, which they that are unlearned & unſtable wreſt, as *they* do alſo the other Scriptures unto their own Deſtruction. *Ye therefore, beloved, ſeeing ye know* theſe Things *before, beware leſt ye alſo being led away with the Error of the wicked, fall from your own Steadfaſtneſs. But grow in Grace and in the Knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: To whom be Glory, both now and forever.* Amen.

DIALOGUE THE FIRST.

Country-Man. Good morrow, Reverend Sir.

Miniſter. I thank Thee, honeſt *Countrey-man*, a good Morning to Thee likewiſe, and I pray God bleſs Thee. But I wou'd know what has brought Thee to my houſe ſo early.

C. I am come to be inſtructed and to know my Duty.

M. Thou art to be commended for ſo doing. Sit down, my Friend, I will give Thee my beſt Inſtructions concerning what thou ſhalt inquire of me.

C. I have heard that ſome Men, particularly one Dr. *Edwards*[110] has been endeavouring to bring into our *excellent Church* the *Scotch* and *Dutch Preſbyterian* Notions concerning *Election* and *Predeſtination*. Now Sir, if I have been rightly inform'd concerning theſe *rigid Doctrines*, I ſhou'd be very ſorry they ſhou'd take place any further in the Minds of Men; becauſe they will take away our *Free-will*, and transform us into ſomething worſe than *Brutes*, for the *Brutes*

[110] This was the Rev. John Edwards, D.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who was born in 1637 and died 1716. He was a Calviniſt and a voluminous writer. He publiſhed in 1713 a work entitled *Theologia Reformata*. He was ſometimes ſaid to be the *Calvin* of his time. He is referred to on the titlepage of this tract as a "certain man who calls himſelf a *Preſbyter* of the *Church* of *England*."

Brutes plainly diſcover a Freedom of *Election* in their *Actions*. They will make *God* the *Author* of *Sin*. And his Puniſhment of the wicked to be merely *arbitrary*, to condemn Men to eternal *Flames*, for thoſe Sins which he had put out of their Power to avoid! Nay to *create* them on *purpoſe* to make them thus *miſerable!* the repeating of it *frights* me! It ſeems all *Blaſphemy* to me; to repreſent the infinit *Goodneſs* and *Father* of *Mercies*, in the Colours of *Cruelty* it ſelf, that you cou'd not exceed it in the Deſcription of the *Devil!*

M. Therefore the *Lutherans* have charg'd the *Calviniſts* with Worſhipping the *Devil*. For, ſay they, we ſee not the *Perſon* of *God*, or of the *Devil*. Therefore we deſcribe them by their *Qualities*. And if we make *God* more cruel than the *Devil*, we make Him worſe than the *Devil*. And we Worſhip the *Devil* under the Name of *God*. For it is not the Word GOD that we *Worſhip*, but what we *mean* by it. The Heathens did *Sacrifice* to *Devils*, & not to *God*, yet they call'd thoſe *Devils* by the Name of *Gods*.[111]

C. But

[111] What may be called "high Calviniſm" prevailed in Maſſachuſetts Bay from the foundation of the colony. The early confeſſions of faith and the platforms adopted at Cambridge and Saybrook maintained their ſupremacy throughout New England for a hundred and fifty years. The doctrines of decrees, of election, predeſtination, and reprobation were ſet forth in their ſtern and moſt poſitive character. They were diſpenſed everywhere by the learned and unlearned from the Puritan pulpit. While few had the rare gift or capacity for dealing with nice metaphyſical queſtions, nevertheleſs all underſtood their concluſions, and readily wove them into their prayers, into their diſcourſes, and into their converſations, and thus theſe Calviniſtic doctrines gave tone and colouring to the whole religious life of the people. Not many original diſcuſſions on theſe topics by the New England divines had up to this time appeared in print. But there were nevertheleſs Sublapſarians, who taught that God *permitted* the fall of Adam without in any way predetermining it, while there were alſo Supralapſarians, who taught that the ſin of Adam with all its conſequences was not only known but predetermined by God from all eternity.

After a very careful reſearch we do not find

C. But *God* is call'd a *Conſuming Fire*, and a *terrible God*. Is there not ſomething of *Cruelty* in this?

M. You eaſily apprehend the Difference betwixt *Juſtice* and *Cruelty*. *God* is *Juſtice*, but ther is nothing of *Cruelty* in his Nature. *Cruelty* is delighting in the Miſery of another, without any regard to a Fault committed. As Envy is repining at the *Proſperity* of another, let him deſerve it never ſo well; for an *envious* Man cannot endure to ſee any other in a better Condition than Himſelf. But none of theſe can be in *God*.

C. Now I underſtand. *God* puniſhes in *Juſtice*, as He is the Supreme *Judge* of the World. But if He made Creatures on purpoſe to damn them, this has all the Notion we can have of *Cruelty*. And if He put it out of their Power not to *ſin*, and left them no *Free-will* to *chuſe* whether they would *ſin* or not, I ſee not how this can be reconcil'd to *Juſtice*. Therefor I think no Creature is capable of *ſinning* but

find that any denial of theſe doctrines, or any arguments in oppoſition to them, had, anterior to this, been publiſhed by any theologian or ſcholar within the boundaries of New England.

Theſe dialogues by Mr. Checkley were therefore the firſt attempt by a native of the ſoil to ſhow by argument that theſe cardinal doctrines of Calviniſm were unſcriptural, and inconſiſtent with the character of a wiſe, good, and benevolent ruler of the univerſe.

The Churchmen of New England who left the miniſtry of the Puritan body and ſought orders in the Church of England, up to the time of the American Revolution, we believe, without an exception, abandoned the Calviniſm in which they had been educated, and ſome of them publiſhed able and elaborate papers againſt the repudiated doctrines. Among theſe may be mentioned the famous letter of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, the firſt preſident of King's College, New York, under the pſeudonyme of Ariſtocles to Authades, on the ſovereignty and the promiſes of God. To this may be added the reply to the Rev. Jonathan Dickinſon by the Rev. John Beach, A.M., on God's ſovereignty and his univerſal love to the ſouls of men.

Theſe Choice Dialogues by Mr. Checkley led the way, and furniſhed, in conciſe and clear ſtatements, the obvious objections to theſe abſtruſe doctrines, which had been accepted, for a whole century in Maſſachuſetts Bay, without proteſt and probably without being underſtood.

but what has *free-will. Sin* being the *Inclining* of the *Will* to *Evil*, and not to *Good.* Which if I have no Power to do, I can neither do *Good* nor *Evil.* I have no Title to *Reward*, nor am I lyable to *Puniſhment.* And what a *Jeſt* wou'd it be in you, if you ſhou'd pretend to ***argue*** with me, to ***promiſe*** or *threaten*, to perſwade me to do ſuch a Thing, if you knew before-hand that it was ***impoſſible*** for me to do it? Suppoſe you ſhould tye me Hand and Foot, throw me into a *Priſon*, *bolt* and *fetter* me down to the Floor, lock the Doors faſt upon me, and then *ſet-fire* to it,— then *preach* to me in at the Window, and uſe moſt *pathetical* Exhortations to me to come out, and why wou'd I ſtay there to be *burn'd?* And ſhou'd *Swear* to me, *as I live I don't deſire your Death, nor have any Pleaſure in it;* and ſhou'd *promiſe* me great *Rewards* if I wou'd come out; wou'd not this be *inſulting* my *Miſery*, and the greateſt Aggravation of *Cruelty* that is poſſible to be imagined? Yet this is the *Notion* thoſe rigid Calviniſts wou'd have us entertain of the *Goodneſs* of *God*, of all his gracious *Promiſes*, and of all his *Threatenings* to us, if we forſake not our *Iniquities*, and deliver ourſelves out of that *Priſon* and *Bondage* of *Sin* into which we had caſt our ſelves, by our habitual wicked Courſes. This is the Caſe as they put it. And I have made it eaſie to my ſelf to apprehend it, by this familiar Example I have given, that I ſee it before my Eyes, and *deteſt* and *abhor* it! But ſtill I have a Queſtion to aſk upon this Point. We ſay in the *Collect* for the *Second Sunday* in *Lent*, That ***we have no power of our ſelves to help our ſelves.*** Is not this the Caſe I put of the *Priſon?*

M. Yes, fully. If we conſider our *Help* as only from ***our ſelves.***

ſelves. When Man had fallen by his *Rebellion* againſt *God*; he was no ways able to deliver himſelf either from the *Dominion* of *Sin*, or from the *Priſon* of *Death* to which it was doom'd, But *Chriſt* our bleſſed *Saviour* enter'd into that *Priſon* in our *Nature*, and in our *Stead*, and made full Satisfaction for all the *Sins* of that *Nature*, to be apply'd to all who laid hold upon it, by a *true* and *lively Faith*, and a ſincere *Repentance* for their *Sins*. He open'd the *Priſon-Doors*, and preach'd Deliverance to all who wou'd accept of his *Salvation*. And to thoſe who are *willing*, he gives the Aſſiſtance of his *Grace*, to help their *Infirmities*. And this *is* neceſſary to all the Actions of our Life. Without this, we can neither do a good *Deed*, nor think a good *Thought*. So that all the *Glory* is ſtill to *Him*. Yet *ſomething* is ſtill left for *us* to do. We muſt *work* with *Him*, becauſe he *works* in *us* both to *will*, and to *do*.

C. Thus then I take it. If I *manure* my Ground never ſo well, yet without the *Sun*, it will not bear. On the other Hand if I do not *prepare* my Ground, the *Sun* will not bring a *Crop* I did not *ſow*. Nay, it is the *Sun* too, which with my *Labour*, do's prepare the Ground, and *fit* it to receive the *Seed*. So that in Effect all is from the *Sun*, both to prepare the *Earth*, and enable it to bring forth the *Seed*. Yet our *Labour* is neceſſary, not as what *produces* any Thing, but only to *remove* what hinders the *Production*. Now I compare the *Sun* to the *Grace* of *God*, without which we can do nothing. And our *Working*, tho' it can *produce* nothing of it ſelf, yet it prepares the *Heart* to receive the *Influence* of the *Sun* of *Righteouſneſs*. So that, as St. *Paul* ſaith, he that planteth is nothing, nor he that *watereth*, but

God

God who giveth the Encreaſe. And this was the *Baptiſm* of *Repentance* St. *John Baptiſt* was ſent to *preach*, to turn the Hearts of the *Fathers* to the *Children* and the *Hearts* of the *Children* to their *Fathers*, to ſoften the *Ground* of the *Heart* to take out thoſe *Stones* and *Hardneſs* which wou'd hinder it to receive the *Seed* of the *Goſpel*. For THEY who are proof againſt even *Natural Affection*, are deaf to all the *Charms* of the *Goſpel*. And this was truly *preparing* the Way to our *Saviour*, to *fit* and *diſpoſe* Men to receive his *ſelf-denying Doctrine*. This is a *preventing* and *preparing* Grace; which whoſo *reſiſts*, nips the *Seed* in the *Bud*, and brings no Fruit to Perfection. In vain then do theſe *unprofitable Servants* plead their own want of *Strength* as an *Excuſe*, while they reſiſt that *Grace* which is offer'd them for an *Help*. Suppoſe I was *lame*, and cou'd not go where my *Life* depended upon it. But then a *Coach* was offer'd me with all Convenience to carry me; and I ſhou'd refuſe it, cou'd I plead my *Lameneſs* as a *Defence* for me? Or, which is more abſurd, cou'd I ſay, it was not in my *Power* to accept it? Or that He who offer'd it, did not really intend it? All this Banter and Blaſphemy theſe *Predeſtinarians* put upon the great *God*.

DIALOGUE THE SECOND.

C. I have been attack'd, Sir, for the laſt words, I ſpoke laſt *Time*, ſaying that the *Predeſtinarians* did *banter* and *blaſpheme* the great *God*. They ſay that *Predeſtination* is a *Scripture-word*, and therefore no Man ought to ſpeak againſt it. And I muſt have ſome of your Help to rid me out of this;

this; for I wou'd by no Means ſay any Thing to the Derogation of the *holy Scriptures.*

M. The *holy Scriptures* often ſpeak to us, *after the Manner* of *Men*, which in the *Schools* is call'd, *ad Captum*, that is to our *Capacities.* For otherwiſe we cou'd not *underſtand* them. We have no words that can *properly* expreſs the *infinit Nature* of *God.* He is *eternal* and dwells in *Eternity*, but we have no words but of *Time.* We cannot conceive a *Duration* without *paſt*, *preſent* and *to come*, yet theſe cannot be in *God.* For then He muſt have a *Beginning*, and wou'd *gain* or *loſe* in Proceſs of Time, as we do. All Things are *preſent* to Him. Therefor wherever *Fore* or *After* is attributed to *God* in *holy Scripture*, we muſt take that Word *ad Captum*, becauſe ther is no *Fore* or *After* in *God.* Such is the Word *Pre-Deſtination*, or *Fore-Ordaining*, or *Fore-Knowing.* God *knows* all Things. But He *fore-knows* nothing, becauſe all Things are *Preſent* to Him. So He *ordains*, but He do's not *fore-ordain.* Yet we muſt uſe theſe Words, becauſe they are according to our *Capacities.* But if we argue *ſtrictly* and *properly* from them, we ſhall fall not only into many *Abſurdities*, but even *Blaſphemies.* And ſo it is as to other Words *ad Captum. God* is ſaid in *Scripture* to *repent*, to be *grieved*, to be *angry*, &c. Yet we all know *God* is not ſubject to any of theſe *Paſſions.* And if we ſhould *argue ſtrictly* and *properly* from ſuch Expreſſions, we muſt deny the *Being* of a *God.* Now if I ſhou'd argue from God's being ſaid to *repent*, that He is *changeable*, and 20 other Conſequences might be drawn from thence, What wou'd Dr. *Edwards* ſay to me? Wou'd He not tell me, that I was *totally* out of the Way, and ought not

not to draw any ſuch Conſequences from a Word that was only *ad Captum.* The ſame I ſay to Him as to *Predeſtination*, which is only *ad Captum*, and no more a *Scripture-Word*, than God's *repenting*, &c. And if He will not give me leave to draw *Conſequences* from the *one*, neither will I give him leave to draw *Conſequences* from the other, both being equally *abſurd.* And let Him ſhew me a reaſon more for the *one* than the *other*, if He can. Now theſe Words *ad Captum* are to be underſtood *comparatively*, with an *as if.* Thus when it is ſaid *God repented* He had made Man, and it *grieved* Him at the *Heart*, it is to expreſs the high *Diſpleaſure* of *God*, and the terrible *Puniſhment* of the *Flood* that follow'd, As If God had *repented* & been grieved at the *Heart*, &c. And thus when God was willing to expreſs the exceeding *Greatneſs* of his *Love* to us, and the full *Aſſurance* we may have in his *Promiſes*, He do's it with an *as if* ther were a *Yeſterday* in *God*, and that He had then choſen us by Name, and paſt an *ir-reverſible Decree* for our *Salvation*, which no *Time* or *Accident* ſhou'd ever alter. In which *Scripture-ſenſe* of *Predeſtination* it is a Doctrin full of *Comfort* and *Aſſurance* to all good *Chriſtians.* And ther is nothing hard to be underſtood in it. But the *Perplexities* of this Diſpute have ariſen from taking the Word in the ſtrict and *literal* Senſe, without any *as if*, or *Compariſon* in the Caſe, or any Allowance for a Word *ad Captum:* But down-right ſuppoſing a Time *paſt* in *God*, and the *Decree* already *paſt*, concerning Things *to Come* with *God.* Which *Abſurdity* being granted, others follow *in-extricable* on both ſides. For Example, ſuch *Decree* being ſuppoſ'd to be *paſt*, it takes away *Free-will;* elſe the *Will* of *Man* might diſappoint the *Decree* of *God.*

God. On the other Hand, without *Free-will* ſuppoſ'd, it will be impoſſible to give an Account for all the *Promiſes* and Threatnings in the *Holy Scriptures*, and the *Proteſtations* of God that he delighteth not in the *Death* of a Sinner, and his earneſt *Invitations* to *Repentance.* And as this is the *Perplexity* of the Diſpute, ſo remove the firſt *Abſurdity*, and all clears up on both ſides. Let us underſtand God's *Predeſtination* (as his *repenting*) to be a Word *ad Captum*, not to be *Strictly* and *Philoſophically* inquir'd into, and Conſequences drawn from it; but to look to the general *Import* and *Meaning* of it, & there we underſtand the Firmneſs of God's *Promiſes*, and of his *Covenant* made with us in *Chriſt*, impoſſible to be fruſtrated, As If decreed in *Time paſt*, even from *Eternity.* But the *Decree* of *God* being only *Preſent*, for that ther is no *paſt* or *future* in Him, we take the Expreſſion only *ad Captum*, and ſee no *future Infraction* upon our Free-will from the *Pre-Deſtination* of *God.* The whole Difficulty being as to Time of *'fore* and *after*, which we are ſure *are* not, nor *can* be in God.

C. Sir, I underſtand. And if others wou'd take notice of what you have ſaid, it would ſtop our arguing and wrangling about it, while it is plain we ſet out upon a wrong Foundation, in applying *paſt* and *future* to *God*, which is only as to us. And it is of *God only* we ſpeak, when we ſpeak of his eternal *Decrees* before *Man* was made. For *Man* was not then in the Caſe, otherwiſe than as all *future* Things are *preſent* with *God.* But if we will apply this to our ſelves, then it will follow, that I was *born* before I was *born*, even from *Eternity*, becauſe my *Birth* was then *preſent* with *God.* And my *Death* is now *preſent* with *Him*, therefor I am

now

now *Dead!* And when I am *dead*, I am not *dead*, becauſe all live to Him! Thus we apply to our ſelves what we call his *Fore-Decrees*, and ſay that the *Freedom* of our *Will* is now ty'd up by them. Therefor let me make this Experiment. Let us leave the Word *Fore* out of the Diſpute, and ſay only, that God *ordains* the *Puniſhment* of *Wickedneſs* and the *Reward* of *Vertue;* and ther is no Difficulty at all in this. But when we ſay (in the rigid *Calviniſtical* Senſe) that *God Fore-ordains*, there comes in all the Confuſion.

M. And Dr. *Edwards*, or any *Predeſtinarian* cannot refuſe this, ſince they all allow that ther is no *Fore* or *After* in *God.* Therefor if they will ſpeak *properly* of Him, they muſt uſe Words *only* of the *preſent.* And will they perplex the World, and make Men run *mad*, only becauſe they will not ſpeak *properly* of God? If they pretend to argue *Philoſophically*, and draw juſt *Conſequences*, they muſt uſe proper Words, & not diſpute from Words that are only *ad Captum.*

DIALOGUE THE THIRD.

C. The Account you gave me laſt Time, Sir, of Predeſtination has ſatisfy'd me, that in the Scripture-ſenſe of the Word, and taken only *ad Captum*, as you expreſs it, it is a moſt *comfortable Doctrin*, and full of Aſſurance to all good *Chriſtians.* But that the rigid Calviniſtical Notion of it, and the Inferences they draw from it, are not only moſt *abſurd*, but likewiſe *blaſphemous* againſt *God.*

M. And the *Effects* of it (ſome of which I have ſeen) among

among the common *Preſbyterians* are terrible. For their Heads being perpetually fill'd with the abſtruſe Notions of *Predeſtination*, *Election*, *Reprobation*, and *Secret Decrees* of *God;* and that they have no *Free-will* or *Choice* what to do, but muſt go on as it is *ſecretly Decreed*. This, as it of common Conſequence makes Men careleſs: (for why ſhou'd they *ſtruggle* when there is no *remedy*, and their *Sentence* is already paſt, and that *ir-revocably?*) So it is obſervable, that more of THESE dye in *Deſpair*, than of any other ſort of People. I have ſeen them cry out on their *Death-Beds* for *Aſſurance! Aſſurance! Oh!* What ſhall I do for *Aſſurance!* And when the *Merits* and *Satisfaction* of *Chriſt* has been preach'd to them, they wou'd ſay, *alas!* What is that to me, if I be not one of the *Elect?* For *Chriſt* dy'd *only* for the *Elect*. (This is another of their *Doctrines*, purſuant to their *Notion* of *Predeſtination*, that the *Decrees* of *God* may not be fruſtrated.) And when they were aſk'd, why they did doubt of their *Election?* And bid look into their *Lives*, which bating *humane Infirmities*, were *good* and *vertuous*, in the common Size of Mankind; and therefor that they might take this as a *Mark* of their *Election:* They wou'd anſwer, that the *good Works* of the *Reprobate* were *hateful* to God, (for ſo they had been taught) and therefor that this was no *ſure Mark*. Nothing but *Election! Election!* was in their Minds. The Condition of theſe poor People is moſt *lamentable*. *Election* is with them a *ſecret Decree*, without any reſpect to our Works. And they can have no other *Aſſurance* of it, but that of their own *Imagination*. They cannot, as the *Apoſtle* requires, be always ready to render a *Reaſon* of the Hope

that is in them. Nay, they ſpeak againſt *Reaſon*, and think it rather an *Hindrance* to *Faith.*

C. I thank God my *Faith* (which I have learn'd in the Church of *England*) is this, That *Chriſt* dy'd for all Mankind, and conſequently for *me* in particular. And I have his *Promiſe*, which is an *infallible Aſſurance;* that if I *believe* and *truſt* in that *compleat Satisfaction* he has made for all my *Sins*, and truly *repent* of them, I ſhall be Sav'd. And tho' my *Faith* be weak, that I ſay, *Lord, I believe, help mine unbelief;* and my *Repentance* is unworthy, and fit to be *repented* of, and all my *Righteouſneſs* is as *filthy rags*, yet I *deſpair* not, becauſe the *Satisfaction* made for my *Sins* was perform'd by *Chriſt* in his own Perſon, wholly without me, in which I have no *Share* or *Part* at all; I paid not, nor cou'd pay one *Penny* of my *Debt*, or make any Satisfaction to infinit offended *Juſtice;* but my whole *Debt* was paid by my *Surety*, and by *Him alone* full Satisfaction was made, who *only* cou'd make it. And my *Faith* is the *Hand* that *reaches* this *Medicin* to me, and *applys* it. The Vertue is not in the Hand, but in the *Medicin.* But the ſtronger the Faith, the greater the *Comfort.* Thereſor, *Lord increaſe my Faith*, and I pray, that *my Faith fail not.* They who look'd upon the *braſen Serpent* were healed, yet ſome had *better Sight* than others. Even *ſo was the Son of Man lifted up, that whoſoever believeth in Him ſhould have eternal Life.* Thus my *Faith* is in *Chriſt*, but not in my *Faith* it ſelf. And if I have but a Grain of it, as big as a *Muſtard-ſeed*, the *Mountain* of my Sins will be remov'd & caſt into the *Sea.* If my Faith be well-grounded, tho' *weak*, and my *Repentance* be ſincere, tho' *unworthy*, I am upon *Jacob's* Ladder, and tho'

tho' upon the *loweſt Step*, yet in the *Road* to *Heaven*. Some are upon an *higher* Step, and ſome upon a *lower*, but all are *ſafe*. That is my *Faith*, and my *Aſſurance*, and this is the *Reaſon* and the *Rock* upon which it is built. But what Reaſon can any Man give for his being *elected* by a *ſecret Decree*, which He knows not? He *fancies* himſelf *elected!* Ther can be no more in it. For, as You have ſaid before, ther can be no ſure *Mark* of it, even by the Principles of the *Predeſtinarians*. And what then cou'd the *Apoſtle* mean (in their Senſe) by bidding us *Make our Calling and Election ſure?* What! Is not the *Decree* of *God* ſure without us?

M. I am pleaſ'd with the Account you have given of your *Faith*. And you ought to bleſs *God* that you have been educated in the Church of *England*, where you have been inſtructed in the true *Foundations* of *Chriſtianity*, which give all the *Aſſurance* that the *Word* and *Promiſe* of God can give. And this is the higheſt *Reaſon*. But the *Aſſurance* of the *Predeſtinarians* is all *Imagination*, being built upon *Decrees* which they confeſs to be *ſecret* and *hidden* from us. Therefor it is no Wonder they ſhou'd cry out for Aſſurance in their Extremity. And when they *ſay* or may *think* they have it, and *boaſt* in it, yet they can give no Reaſon for it, and therefor it is but *Imagination* ſtill. Impreſſions upon the *Imagination* may give great *Pleaſure* and even *Raptures* of *Joy*. And if theſe are built upon the true *Foundation*, they are *Gold* and *precious Stones;* otherwiſe they are but *Hay* and *Stubble*, and will not endure the *Fire*. They are often the *Deluſion* of Satan, who thus tranſforms himſelf into an *Angel* of *Light*, and deceives many an *unſtable* Soul. But they muſt be try'd by the *Foundation*.

Upon

Upon which they are not built, if we can give no *Reaſon* for them, but are *Flaſhes* and *Meteors*, and give a *falſe Light.* We may know them likewiſe by their Effects. If ſuch *Tranſports* leave us more *humble* in our ſelves, and with more *Love* and *Charity* to others, they come from *God.* But if they fill us with *ſpiritual Pride*, and make us look down upon others as beneath us, they come, no Doubt, from the *Spirit* of *Pride*, and tempt us to *Pride;* tho' ſometimes without our knowing it, and while we act *Humility.* Ther is none ſo *proud* as the *proud-humble man*, who is *proud* of his Humility! So ſubtile is our *Adverſary*, that we muſt watch even over our Vertues. He mixes *Poyſon* with our *Meat.* So that we often put *Darkneſs* for *Light*, and *Light* for *Darkneſs.* And if the *Light* that is in us be *Darkneſs*, how great is the *Darkneſs!* And this muſt be known by *Reaſon.* My *Reaſon* tells me, that I can build no *Aſſurance* upon *Decrees* which are *hidden* and kept *ſecret* from me. But whatever thoſe *Decrees* are, my *Reaſon* aſſures me they cannot be *contrary* or *againſt* the *reveal'd Will* of *God*, which is given us in the *holy Scriptures;* becauſe that wou'd be for *God* to *contradict* Himſelf. Which is impoſſible. And therefore my *Reaſon* tells me that I may ſurely truſt in his *Promiſes*, and chearfully ſet about my *Duty*, without perplexing my ſelf about his *ſecret Decrees.*

DIALOGUE THE FOURTH.

C. I hope Sir, that what you have ſaid of *Predeſtination* will ſatisfie others as well as it has me. Firſt, that the whole Diſpute,

Diſpute, as managed by the *Calviniſts*, is all built upon a wrong *Foundation*, even by their own *Confeſſion*, in arguing *ſtrictly* from Words *ad Captum*, and which they confeſs to be ſo; and will not ſuffer the like to be done in any other Caſe. Therefor that they ought to ſtop their Diſputes upon this Point, till they can find *proper* Words to ſpeak by, if they will ſpeak *properly* of *God*. And theſe Diſputes ought to ceaſe for a ſecond Reaſon you have given, which is, that they are *uſeleſs*, becauſe whatever the *ſecret Decrees* of *God* may be ſuppoſ'd to be, yet that they cannot *go againſt* or *invalidate* his Will declar'd openly in the *holy Scriptures*, for that wou'd be to *contradict* Himſelf. Therefor that we may work in *Hope*, and chearfully apply our ſelves to the *performing* of what He has *commanded* us; with full *Truſt* and *Aſſurance* in what He has *promiſ'd*, without *perplexing* and *intangling* our ſelves in theſe *Diſputes* about his *Secret Decrees;* for they muſt go according to his *reveal'd Will*. In this we are *ſure*, and therefor theſe *Diſputes* are at the beſt *uſeleſs* to us; but of moſt pernicious *Conſequence* when taken by the wrong Handle, as you have fully ſhew'd. But ther is one Thing wherein Dr. *Edwards* and the *Predeſtinarians* do very much boaſt, they ſay that their Doctrin is agreeable to our 39 *Articles;* and therefor that our *Clergy* have *apoſtatiz'd* (as Dr. *Edwards* words it) from the Doctrin of the Church of *England:* and that the *Diſſenters* are the true *Church* of *England*, becauſe they hold *Predeſtination*, and are againſt *Free-will*, as they ſay our *Articles* likewiſe ſpeak. Now tho' this be no Argument as to the Doctrin it ſelf, yet to thoſe of the *Church* of *England* it is of very great *Conſequence*, as well to vindicate the *Church* of England

land, as to ſtop the Mouths of *Diſſenters*, which are all open upon us on this Account.

M. The tenth *Article* is of *Free-will.* Which is not at all there deny'd, but rather ſuppoſ'd and aſſerted. But it ſuppoſes the Concurrence of the *Grace* of *God* by *Chriſt* to be neceſſary to *incline* and *guide* our *Will*, and to *work* with us, *When we have that good Will.* Which is exactly agreeable to what I have ſaid before of *Grace* and our *working* with it, page 156. The 17th *Article* is of *Predeſtination.* And keeps to the *Scripture-Phraſe* of God's *ordaining before the World began*, of *calling* whom he *fore-knew*, juſtifying, *ſanctifying* them, *&c.* Which is to be underſtood in the *ſame* and no *other* ſenſe than as theſe Words are uſ'd in *holy Scripture*, which all agree to be *ad Captum*, as we have diſcourſ'd it before. And theſe Expreſſions of *Scripture* are, according to our Capacities and Manner of ſpeaking, as this *Article* ſays, *full of ſweet, pleaſant and unſpeakable Comfort* to godly Perſons. But then this *Article* checks the *Curioſities* of this Diſpute (which is what I have been blaming) and ſays, *For curious and carnal Perſons lacking the Spirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their Eyes the Sentence of God's Predeſtination, is a moſt dangerous Downfal, whereby the Devil doth thruſt them either into Deſperation, or into Wretchleſſneſs of moſt unclean Living, no leſs Pernicious than Deſperation.*

C. This is ſo exactly what you have ſaid, that yours is but a Comment upon this.

M. Then the *Article* ends thus, *Furthermore, We muſt receive God's Promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scripture: And in our Doings, that Will of*

of God is to be follow'd, which we have expreſly declared unto us in the Word of God.

C. This is juſt as you have concluded, That we may ſafely truſt in *God's Promiſes*, and perform our Duty chearfully which He has commanded in *holy Scripture*, without perplexing our ſelves about his *Secret Decrees*. Therefore inſtead of theſe *Articles* being againſt you, or you againſt them, you have perfectly follow'd them in your Arguments, and explained them.

M. Obſerve further, that ther is not a Word of *Reprobation* in all the 17th *Article* of *Predeſtination*, nothing of God's having *Fore-decree'd* any to *Miſery*, but it ſpeaks only of thoſe whom He has elected to *Salvation*. So that the rigid *Calviniſts* againſt whom we have been diſputing can find no Colour of Umbrage in their Favour from this *Article*. Therefore whatever the Opinion of particular Men might have been, this cannot be charg'd upon the *Church* of *England*.

There was a Time when ſome of our *Divines* ran in too much with the *Calviniſts*. In the *Marian* Perſecution many fled to *Geneva* and thoſe Parts. And the joint Cauſe againſt *Popery*, together with the Smart of their own Perſecution, inclin'd 'em to all the favourable Opinion they cou'd have of their *Friends*, who gave them *Shelter*. By this Mean ſome were tinctur'd with theſe *rigid Notions* of *Predeſtination*. And when they return'd to *England* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, their Reputation made this Doctrin go down more eaſily with ſome People.

But our *Engliſh Cyprian*, and holy *Martyr*, the great Arch-Biſhop LAUD, ſet himſelf to ſtop the Torrent of this *Infection*

Infection, and when he was *Chancellor* of *Oxford*, He turn'd the Bent of their Studies from theſe modern *Polemicks*, and Reading the *Dutch* and *German Syſtems* of Divinity, to learn downwards, and from the firſt Beginning of *Chriſtianity*, to acquaint themſelves with the *Fathers* in the ſeveral Ages to our Times; Whereby they wou'd be better able to judge of the novel Diſputes of the *Remonſtrants*, *Anti-Remonſtrants*, *Supra* and *Sub-Lapſarians*, &c., which then tormented the *Reformation* in *Germany* and *Holland;* and wherein We likewiſe took part. And that famous *Univerſity* (together with her Siſter of *Cambridge*, which took the ſame Method) reap to this Day the Benefit of thoſe pious Inſtructions of her learned *Chancellor*, which has given them that deſerved Reputation all over *Europe* for their great *Knowledge* and *Exactneſs* in *Antiquity;* and the primitive *Doctrin* and *Diſciplin* of the *Church;* and teaching us to derive our *Faith* from its *Fountain* and *Original*, and to go higher up than either *Luther* or *Calvin*. For want of which the *Church* of *Rome* has gain'd great Advantages againſt her leſs learned *Oppoſers*. For this Cauſe, Dr. *Edwards* has thought fit to fall foul upon Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, as the *Corrupter* of our *Doctrin*. But We bleſs his Memory as the *Reſtorer* of it. The *Doctor* charges Him and us for bringing in what he calls *Pelagianiſm*, and *Arminianiſm*. But He is too learned not to know this to be a Miſtake. For tho' we aſſert *Free-will*, yet we teach the *Concurrence* and even *Neceſſity* of *Grace*, to enable us to bring forth Fruit unto *God*, as is before explain'd, page 156.

C. You have made it plain even to me. And now I am frighted to think, that any *Divine* of the *Church* of *England*

land ſhou'd make ſuch an Uſe of the *Union* of the two *Kingdoms*, & to propoſe it in *Print*, as to joyn with the rigid *Calviniſts* in *Scotland* and *Holland*, and our own *Diſſenters* at Home, againſt the *Church* of *England*, which he (good Man) calls *Apoſtate;* and hopes, with this *foreign* and *domeſtick* Aid, to bring us all back again to the rigid and moſt abhorrent *Calviniſm* of *Predeſtination;* to throw Men into *Deſpair*, and *Wretchleſſneſs of moſt unclean Living*, as our *Article* of *Predeſtination* ſpeaks. But I hope this will give ſufficient Warning to thoſe of our *Clergy* who yet remain firm to the *Church*, that they may in Time ward this *Blow* which is ſo publickly *threaten'd*, and already *attempted!*

DIALOGUE THE FIFTH.

M. Ther is one Point remaining that follows from that of *Predeſtination* we have been upon; in which I wou'd have you, *Country-man*, to be well grounded, and therefor muſt examin you a little upon it. Theſe *Predeſtinarians* placing all upon the eternal *Decrees* of *Election* and *Reprobation*, allow not of Univerſal Redemption, or that *Chriſt* dy'd for *All*, Becauſe, ſay they, if *Chriſt* dy'd for the *Reprobate*, it was totally in vain, and the End of his *Suffcrings* muſt be fruſtrated as to them. Beſides that he cou'd not intend or deſign to *Save* thoſe whom *God* had *Reprobated* by an *eternal Decree.*

Now let me ſee what you have to ſay to this.

C. As to *eternal Decrees*, enough has been ſaid to that already,

already, that ther is no arguing from it, being only Words *ad Captum*, and therefor not to be *ſtrictly* and *properly* taken. So I diſmiſs that Point. But now as to *univerſal Redemption*, the *Scripture* is plain, which ſays, That *Chriſt dy'd for all. And wou'd have none to periſh, but all to come to the Knowledge of the Truth.* And *as in Adam all dye, even ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive.* And many other ſuch like Texts.

M. But all are not made *alive*, that is in *Chriſt*, ſo as to be *Saved*, for many *periſh*.

C. Yet *Chriſt* dy'd even for thoſe who *periſh*. As it is ſaid i *Cor.* 8, 11 in the *Caſe* of giving *Scandal* to a weak Brother. *And thro' thy Knowledge ſhall the weak Brother periſh, for whom Chriſt died?*

Now I help my ſelf to underſtand this, by a familiar Example. Suppoſe you came to a *Priſon*, and taking a Liſt of all the *Debtors*, ſhou'd pay all their *Debts*, *Coſts Charges* and all. And opening the *Priſon-Doors*, ſhou'd tell them, they were all at LIBERTY who wou'd *accept* of it, and *come* out in ſuch a Time. After which the *Priſon Doors* ſhou'd be lock'd again, and they ſhou'd be kept there, 'till they had paid the *uttermoſt Farthing*. Upon this, ſome thankfully accept of your Goodneſs, and *come out*. But ther are others, who deſpiſe your *Mercy*, or will not *believe* you, or underſtand not the *pleaſure* of *Liberty*, but prefer the ſordid Life of a *Priſon*, the *Pot* and the *Pipe*, and will not *come out*. Which is the very *Condemnation* our *Saviour* ſpoke of when He ſaid, that *Light was come into the World, but Men loved Darkneſs rather than Light, becauſe their Deeds were evil.* The Light was offer'd to all. But ſome lov'd *Darkneſs*

neſs better. It is ſaid that *Life* and *Death* are ſet before us, yet ſome chuſe Death. An Habit of Sinning contracts a Love to it, that we are loth to leave it.

The Application is this. The Debt of thoſe *Priſoners* who Stay'd in the *Priſon* was pay'd as well as of thoſe who came out. And as the Releaſe of the one is wholly owing to Him who pay'd the *Debt;* ſo the *Condemnation* of the other, lies wholly at his own Door, becauſe, He wou'd not accept of his *Liberty*. *Something* was left to the *Priſoners* to do, *to chuſe whether they wou'd come out, or ſtay in.* God (tho' a God of infinit Mercy) will not ſave us againſt our Will. This ſhews *Free-will.* But ther is no *Merit* in us, when we accept of his *Salvation*. We pay not a *Penny* of the *Debt*, He pays it all. And all the *Thanks* and the *Glory* is to Him. But if He did not pay my *Debt*, how cou'd I be blam'd for ſtaying in the *Priſon*, when my *Debt* lay ſtill upon me, that I cou'd not get out? How cou'd I be call'd *ungrateful* to Him who *pay'd* nothing for me, nor ever did *deſign* it? And how can wicked Men be blam'd for trampling under Foot the Blood of the *Son of God*, for *deſpiſing* and *reſiſting* his *Grace*, if He Shed *no Blood* for them, nor ever gave them any *ſaving Grace?*

M. I deſire Dr. *Edwards* (or any One of his Opinion) to anſwer this. But this brings me to another Point which follows in the Train of *Conſequences* of theſe Men's Notion of *Predeſtination*. For from the *eternal Decrees*, as they put it, they infer that there can be no falling from *Grace*, becauſe this might defeat the *Decree*. And therefor that Men cannot finally *reſiſt* his *Grace*, or fall from it. This minds me

me of a remarkable Paſſage told by Dr. *Bates*, who wrote the *Eleuchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia.* He as a Phyſician was call'd upon to aſſiſt that Night that *Oliver* (that Chriſtian Heroe in ſome Mens Eſteem) prov'd a true *Deliverer* of his Country. The *Uſurper* was in great *Agonies* of *Mind*, often *ſtarted*, and aſk'd them if they ſaw any Thing? At length He calls for his *Chaplains.* And the firſt Queſtion He aſk'd them was, *If there was any falling from Grace?* To which being anſwered, No, — *then*, ſaid he, *I am ſafe.* For He ſuppoſ'd that ſome Time or other in his Life, he might have had a little *Grace.* And then his *Uſurpation*, with the *Murder* of the *King* his *Royal* and *Religious Maſter*, and *Devaſtation* of *three Kingdoms*, beſides much *Blood-ſhed* abroad, and the *Overthrow* of the *eſtabliſh'd Church*, cou'd do him no Hurt! This is a ſhort Way of quieting *Conſcience!* and to lull Men aſleep in their *Sins!* Thus poor *Souls* are deluded by theſe *Doctrins* of *Decrees!*

In Conſequence of which it is a *Maxim* with them, that *God ſees no Sin in his Elect.* Which is indeed, that the *Elect* cannot *ſin.* They ſay that *David* was nothing out of God's Favour while he continued in his Sin, more than before he *committed* it, or than after he *repented.* Nay ſome of them have wrote expreſſly againſt *Repentance*, as being a *Derogation* from the *Decrees* of *God*, & ſuppoſing 'em to be *conditional.* Whence others have likewiſe ſpoke againſt *Good Works.* What! Do we think that any Thing we can do, can reverſe or alter the *Decrees* of *God?*

And as they think the *Elect* cannot *ſin*, ſo they ſay that others can do nothing elſe but *ſin.* Thus the ſame Actions are *Sin* in *One*, and *Piety* in the *other.* As the *Poet* ſaid,

The

The *Saints* may do the ſame Things by
The Spirit in Sincerity,
Which other Men are *tempted* to,
And at the *Devil's* Inſtance do:
All *Piety* conſiſts therein
In them, in other Men all *Sin.*

I have read in a Book of one of their celebrated *Preacher's*, a long Compariſon betwixt *Eſau* and *Jacob*, wherein *Eſau* was ſet forth with all the Advantages of *Worth* and *Honour*, and *Jacob* repreſented as the *wickedeſt* Fellow upon Earth; and this Uſe was made of it, that *God* choſe *Jacob* before *Eſau*, to ſhew that his *Decrees* were *abſolute*, and had no reſpect to the *Goodneſs* or *Wickedneſs* of the *Perſons.*

C. Then it is all one whether we are good or wicked! Nay *Wickedneſs* has the Advantage in many Caſes, as in this of *Eſau* and *Jacob!* Sir, theſe are monſtrous *Principles!* And make me now no longer wonder at what one of their eminent *Preachers* in *London* ſaid ſince the *Revolution*, who being aſk'd by ſome of his *Brethren*, what progreſs he had made, He ſaid he had made many *Proſelytes*, and had a full *Congregation;* but, added he, all the Effect I have found is, That I have preach'd a *Congregation* of *Chriſtians* into a *Congregation* of *Devils.* Perhaps not knowing the *Cauſe*, and that this was the natural *Conſequence* of thoſe *Doctrines* he had *preach'd* to them.

And are theſe the *Principles* to which Dr. *Edwards* wou'd have us *reform'd* backwards over, by the *Kirk* in *Scotland* and in *Holland* coming into the Aid of our Diſſenters at Home? A Bleſſed *Confederacy!*

M. The *Doctor* has given the *On-ſet* himſelf in a large Book,

Book, he has lately Printed, call'd *Veritas Redux*,[112] wherein theſe *Principles* are ſet up to the Height. He *heads* the *Armies* of the *Philiſtines*, and *leads* them on againſt the *Camp* of *Iſrael.*

DIALOGUE THE SIXTH.

C. Reverend Sir, before I take my leave of you, I wou'd willingly be informed whether what I have heard of the *Diſſenters* be true or not. I have heard that many of them are turn'd *Arians* and *Socinians.* I pray now, is it true?

M. Yes, *Country-man*, it is too true! Many of the Diſſenting Miniſters themſelves have publickly profeſſ'd themſelves *Socinians;* that is, they deny *Jeſus Chriſt* to be *God.* Theſe are ſome of thoſe of whom the *Scripture* ſpeaks, that in the latter Times Men wou'd ariſe who wou'd deny the *God* that bought them. Their woful *Apoſtacy*, *Country-man*, may eaſily be accounted for. Unhappy Men! They have thrown off the *Succeſſion* of the *Prieſthood*, by *which only* the *Miniſters* of *Jeſus Chriſt* can demonſtrate that they are ſent by Him. They have likewiſe thrown off the ſacred *Feſtivals* and *Feaſts* of the *Church*, and the comely and decent Ceremonies which have been practiſed in the *Church:* Which tho' they are (ſimply) no Parts of *Worſhip*, yet without them, the true Fear of God and his true Worſhip cannot long be preſerved. For theſe *Feſtivals*, *&c.*, are like the *Caſk* to the *Wine;* The Caſk is no Part of the *Wine*, but if thou breakeſt the *Caſk*, thou inevitably wilt loſe the *Wine.*

C. Sir,

[112] *Veritas Redux, or Evangelical Truths Reſtored.* 8vo. 1707.

C. Sir, I make no Wonder now that thoſe Men who ſo much incline to this wicked *Hereſie* ſhou'd make ſuch a Noiſe againſt the decent *Ceremonies*, &c. of our excellent Church.

M. Your Remark is juſt, Country-man. This was the chief Reaſon, that made that *Arch-Heretick*, that *uncircumſis'd Philiſtine*, their infamous Mr. *James* Peirce,[118] who is one of the chief of theſe *Infidels*, I ſay it was chiefly his Inclination to this *Hereſie* that made him ſo loudly exclaim againſt the *Feſtivals* and *Ceremonies* of our excellent *Church*; particularly againſt our *Bowing*, in the *publick Aſſemblies*, at the moſt *ſolemn* and *devout* Mention of the *Name* of the ever bleſſed JESUS.

This made him ſay, in his *Vindication* of the *Diſſenters*, page 531, "But we can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhou'd rather bow at the Name of *Jeſus*, than at the Name *God*, *Jehovah*, *Chriſt*, or *Saviour*, which is the ſame with *Jeſus*."

Therefor in Anſwer to this arrogant and *inſulting Infidel*, and to all other Enemies of our holy *Chriſtian Faith*, I will inſtruct Thee, my *Chriſtian Friend*, concerning the true Reaſon of that *laudable* and truly *Pious* Cuſtom. I mean that of *reverently* Bowing in the Publick Aſſemblies of *Chriſtians*, at the ſolemn Mention of the Sacred *Name* of the *holy*, the *ever-bleſſed* and always to be adored JESUS.

The

[118] James Peirce was born in 1673 and died in 1726. He was a diſtinguiſhed Arian Diſſenter, the author of a great number of learned and critical works, eſpecially commentaries upon ſeveral of the Epiſtles of St. Paul. His Commentary on the Epiſtle to the Hebrews was tranſlated into Latin by Michaelis, and publiſhed at Halle in 1747. The Rev. Dr. William Nichols, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, publiſhed in 1707 a work entitled *Defenſio Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, which he iſſued in an Engliſh tranſlation in 1715. This work was anſwered by Peirce in his *Vindication of the Diſſenters* in 1718.

The Word JESUS ſignifies a *Saviour*, and is the ***proper*** Name of OUR *bleſſed Saviour*, who had this Name given Him by the *Angel*, before He was conceiv'd in the *Womb*. So that this is his *Perſonal* Name. The Word *Chriſt* denotes only his *Office*, as He was the ***anointed*** of *God*, which that *Word* ſignifies.

Now, there was in the *Apoſtles* Time, a Set of ***Hereticks***, as *Cerinthus* and his *Followers* who deny'd *This Jeſus* to be the *Chriſt*. They ſaid that *Chriſt*, or the *Holy Spirit* (for they made no Diſtinction) dwelt in *Jeſus*, as in other holy Men. That it deſcended upon Him at his *Baptiſm*, but left Him on the *Croſs*, which made Him cry, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* Againſt theſe the ***Apoſtles*** wrote. And the Burden of their Arguments was to prove that THIS *Jeſus* is the *Chriſt*. As St. *Peter* ſaid, (*Act.* 2. 36.) *Therefore let all the Houſe of Iſrael know aſſuredly, that God hath made that ſame Jeſus whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Chriſt.* And St. *John* ſays, (*Joh.* 20. 31.) *Theſe Things are written, that ye might believe that Jeſus is the Chriſt, the Son of God.* And (1 *Joh.* 2. 22.) *Who is a Liar, but he that denieth that Jeſus is the Chriſt?* Wherefore St. *Paul* ſays, (*Phil.* 2. 10.) *That at the Name of* JESUS *every Knee ſhould bow.* This was owning HIM to be the *Chriſt*. Which is truly to be a *Chriſtian*. And the *Bowing* at any *other Name*, do's not ſhew this. To bow at the *Name* of *God* do's not diſtinguiſh me from a *Jew*, a *Mahometan*, or an *Heathen*, who all acknowledge a *God*. And to bow at the Name of *Chriſt* or the *Meſſiah*, do's not ſhew but that I may be a *Jew*, for they own a *Chriſt*, and expect him yet to come. But they expreſſly deny that *this* JESUS is the Chriſt.

And

And (alas!) we have the ſame Cauſe of diſtinguiſhing our ſelves at this Day, where many that ſhelter themſelves under the Name of *Chriſtians*, (ay, and good *Proteſtants* too) are profeſſ'd *Deiſts* and *blaſpheme* that worthy *Name* by which we are called, ſaying, "*The old Romans did him Juſtice to puniſh Him with the Death of a Slave.* — Oh! curſed Blaſphemy!) This is taken out of a Pamphlet entitled, *The Growth of Deiſm*, approv'd and recommended by the infamous and execrable *Tyndal* in his blaſphemous Book of the *Rights;* (which Book of the *Rights* is highly valued by many of the *Diſſenters* — Unhappy Men!) And we ſhall not diſtinguiſh our ſelves from theſe by *Bowing* at the Name of *God*. Then again, the *Quakers* do expreſſly deny the Man *Jeſus* to be the *Chriſt*, they run in directly with the *Hereſie* of *Cerinthus*, and ſay that *Chriſt* or the *Light* dwelt in *Jeſus*, they make *Chriſt* and *Jeſus* to be *two*. Therefore *Bowing* at the Name of *Chriſt* will not diſtinguiſh us from theſe. But Bowing at the Sacred Name of *Jeſus*, is owning THAT *Perſon*, THAT Man *Jeſus* to be the *Chriſt*. And nothing leſs than this (owning *Chriſt*) can denominate a Man to be a *Chriſtian*.

I don't ſay it is *neceſſary* or an *Article* of *Faith* always to *bow* at the Name of *Jeſus*. But I hope I may ſay from the *Authorities* and *Reaſons* I have offer'd, that ther can be no *Harm* in it, far leſs any *Superſtition*. That it is highly *decent* and a *Profeſſion* of our *Chriſtianity*. And that THOSE who refrain from it out of a *Principle*, give Grounds of *Suſpicion, that they are not ſound in the Faith*, and lean more to the *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, or *Principles* of the *Quakers*, than to the *Chriſtian Church*. At leaſt they give Counte-

nance to theſe *Enemies of Chriſtianity*, while they joyn with them in refuſing this *Publick Atteſtation* which the Church gives of her Faith in the *crucify'd* JESUS. We *bow* or *uncover* our ſelves at the Name of an *Earthly King*, when his *Grants* or *Patents* are read. And may we not *bow* at the Name of the *King* of *Kings*, and *Lord of Lords!*

C. Reverend Sir, I thank Thee for theſe pious *Inſtructions* and *Exhortations*. And I thank my good God, that I have not ſo learned *Chriſt*, as like theſe *Infidels* to be aſham'd of the *crucify'd Jeſus*. No, as for me and my Houſe, we will ſerve the Lord CHRIST. And while the *infidel* World, and *Luke-warm Chriſtians* are aſham'd to own their God and their Redeemer, I will excite my *Chriſtian* Neighbours (by my Example) in the *Aſſemblies* of *Chriſtians* for Publick Worſhip, humbly to *bow down*, and with godly Reverence adore, at the ſolemn Mention of the *Name* of our great God, and our holy Redeemer, the Captain of our Salvation; the holy, the adorable, and ever bleſſed JESUS.

Reverend Sir, before I take my leave, I entreat that I may join with Thee in offering up this *Hymn* to the *ever-bleſſed Trinity*, which I have learned by frequenting our moſt excellent Church, the Church of *England*.

To Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt,
The God whom WE adore,
Be Glory; as it was is now,
And ſhall be ever-more.

NOTE. — In the original edition of the *Choice Dialogues* there followed at the end the *Epiſtle of St. Ignatius to the Magneſians*, tranſlated into Engliſh by the Rt. Rev. William Wake, D.D., Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The apparent object of the author was to ſhow the prevalence of Epiſcopacy in the time of this Apoſtolic Father, whoſe Martyrdom occurred about ſeven years after the death of St. John, who wrote the Book of Revelation.

A

MODEST PROOF

OF THE

Order & Government

Settled by Chriſt and his Apoſtles

IN THE

CHURCH.

BY SHEWING

I. What Sacred Offices were Inſtituted by them.
II. How thoſe Officers were Diſtinguiſhed.
III. That they were to be Perpetual and Standing in the Church. And,
IV. Who Succeed in them, and rightly Execute them to this Day.

Recommended as proper to be put into the Hands of the Laity.

BOSTON:

Re-printed by *Tho. Fleet*, and are to be Sold by *Benjamin Eliot* in *Boſton*, *Daniel Aurault* in *Newport*, *Gabriel Bernon* in *Providence*, Mr. *Gallop* in *Briſtol*, Mr. *Jean* in *Stratford*, and in moſt other Towns within the Colonies of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Iſland*. 1723.

The Publiſher

TO THE

READER.

I Was adviſed by ſome pious Perſons, who deſire Peace and Union amongſt Chriſtians, to re-print this Diſcourſe, in hopes of its good Effect on all impartial Readers.

The Arguments being wholly Scriptural, are not only convincing, but managed with ſo much Charity, that few Books of Controverſy in Religion can expect a better Reception.

Upon a ſerious peruſal of this Piece, it will appear clear and evident, That whoſoever juſtly ſuſtains the Character of a Miniſter of the Goſpel of Chriſt, hath, beſides his Internal Qualifications, an External Viſible Commiſſion delivered to him, by thoſe who have Power and Authority to grant it: From whence theſe Inferences do naturally flow.

Firſt, *That the Miniſters of the Church of* England, *who freely own that the Power of Ordinations was firſt veſted in the Apoſtles, and from them, through all Ages ſince, in a ſucceſſion of* Biſhops, *from whence they derive their own Ordinations,*

Ordinations, are to be acknowledged true Miniſters of the Goſpel.

Secondly, *That it is a daring Offence to intrude into the ſacred Function, without a regular deſignation to the Exerciſe of it.* *See* Numb. 16. 40. 2 Sam. 6. 6, 7. 2 Chron. 26. 19, 20, 21, 22. Heb. 5. 4, 5.

Thirdly, *That People ought to endeavour after all the Aſſurance they can attain to, that they have the Means of Grace in the Word and Sacraments, duly adminiſtred and diſpenſed unto them, by Perſons fully authorized for thoſe holy Offices. For ſince the* Prieſt's Lips are to preſerve Knowledge, *the People ought to be ſatisfied that they are really ſuch, at whoſe Mouth they* ſeek the Law. *And,*

Fourthly, *That it is a very criminal Preſumption, and an unſufferable Inſolence in ſome, to value their Gifts at ſo high a rate, as to think themſelves by the virtue of them, entituled to the Miniſterial Office, without being admitted by the Impoſition of the Hands of thoſe, whom Chriſt has ordered to preſide over the affairs of his Church.*

Fifthly, *That ſince there is no approaching before God's Altar, without the appointed Rites of Conſecration, nor any medling with his Inſtitutions without his Order and Command; Thoſe invaders of the ſacred Services, cannot be ſaid to be the* Ambaſſadors of God, *or accounted the* Stewards of the Myſteries of Chriſt, *who preſume to touch thoſe holy Things, with their unhallowed Hands, and like* Saul, *would ſacrifice without a Call,* 1 Sam. 13. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. *For thoſe who offer* ſtrange Fire before the Lord, *their Incence muſt be* an Abomination to him, Levit. 10. 12.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, *Tho' we can by no means queſtion our Saviour's Gifts and Abilities, yet he did not enter upon his Miniſtry, until he was ſolemnly inaugurated into that Office; for he glorified not himſelf to be made an High Prieſt, but he that ſaid unto him,* Thou art my Son, *which was ſaid unto him at his Baptiſm,* Luke 2. 22. *So when he was about to leave the World, he Commiſſioned others to go upon the great Embaſſy of Reconciliation, to tranſact in his Name, and proclaim and ſeal his Pardons, ſaying,* As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you: *Whereupon he immediately gave them the power of Cenſures and Abſolutions,* John 20. 22, 23. Matth. 28. 19, 20. *And they alſo before their Death, imparted their Power to others, by Impoſition of Hands. Thus the Apoſtles ordained ſeven Deacons,* Act. 6. 5, 6. *among other Services, to* Preach *and to* Baptize, *in the Exerciſe of which Offices we find St.* Philip, *one of them, diligently employed,* Acts 8. 1. *&c. Thus* Paul *and* Barnabas *ordained Elders in every Church,* Acts 14. 23. *And thus St.* Paul, *who had ordained* Timothy *and* Titus, *appointed* Titus *to ordain Elders in every City in* Crete, Tit. 1. 5. *And that theſe ſacred Offices ſhould continue in a regular Miniſtry to the end of the World, is undeniable from* Math. 6. 18. *and Chap.* 28. 19, 20. *and* Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13. *And finally, that there was a preheminence of Juriſdiction and Authority in ſome of theſe Church-Offices over others, is plainly proved in this Treatiſe, in the Apoſtolical Dignity (to which the Epiſcopal muſt needs ſucceed) over the* ſeventy, *and the* Deacons; *and St.* Paul's *Epiſtles to* Timothy *and* Titus, *where we find many marks of the Power of thoſe* Biſhops *over their inferiour* Preſbyters, *as to Ordain them, or upon occaſion to promote them to a higher Order, to*

Judge

Judge and Cenſure them, and if the caſe required, to proceed to Depoſition. This is the ſtanding Miniſtry that the Church of England *claims a Part and Lot in: This is the Nature and true Notion of a Goſpel Miniſtry, as we find it founded by our Saviour and his Apoſtles.*

A

Modeſt Proof

OF THE

Order and *Government*

Settled by Chriſt and his Apoſtles

IN THE

CHURCH.

MY deſign is at preſent, to repreſent to the World, what was the primitive Model, or Form of Church-Government; what was ſettl'd by our Saviour, and his *Apoſtles*, in this point; and that from what is recorded of the matter in the Books of the New-Teſtament: This is evident from the Title-page; and the end of this undertaking is in order to let all Parties contending for various Forms ſee which is really the right one, with which if they compare their own, they may be enabl'd to continue it or reject it as it agrees with, or deviates from the firſt Inſtitution.

Now

Now the Church however harraſſed and diſquieted, with a great variety of Diſputes and Debates, about points of *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline;* yet heard little or no noiſe made, for about 1400 years, about *this* point of *Church-Government.* One *Aerius* ſtarted a debate, but had ſo few to ſecond him that it died with himſelf, and left his name on record among *Hereticks.*

The goodly Order and *Government* inſtituted by Chriſt, ſtood firm for many Ages; and under it the Church flouriſhed, and the Chriſtian Religion mightily prevailed, notwithſtanding the violent Perſecutions of *thoſe* times: but at length it was invaded, and ſuppreſſed by the Uſurpation and Tyranny of the *Roman Papacy.* A *ſecular Power*, and *Dominion* was ſet up; and the *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, and *Diſcipline* of the Church, following the fate of its Government, were corrupted. Error, Superſtition, Idolatry and Tyranny, the Pillars of the Papal Kingdom, were introduced: And all maintained, on the one hand, by a moſt falſe and blaſphemous Pretenſion to an Abſolute infallible Power and Authority derived from Chriſt; and on the other, by a moſt horrid and cruel Perſecution of all who did but mutter the leaſt Diſſent.

Thus lay the Church for ſome Ages, groaning under this *Anti-chriſtian Uſurpation*, ſtruggling and wreſtling even unto Blood and Martyrdom, to recover its primitive Purity and Liberty. It pleaſed the Lord at length, to deliver it in part, and to retrieve its *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline* and *Government*, by a longwiſh'd for Reformation: A Reformation which had been much more happy and compleat, had not the *Adverſary* ſcattered his Tares among the good Seed

which

which ſprung up in Briars and Thorns: Had not ſome Doctrines and Cuſtoms, maintained by one part of the Reformed Church, and rejected by an other, occaſioned hot diſputes, which gave no leſs diſturbance to the Church, than they yielded Pleaſure and Diverſion to the *Common Enemies.*

Among other differences this was one; that while the greateſt and moſt conſiderable part of the Reformed Church, retained the Ancient Order and *Government*, and vindicated it from the Uſurpations and Encroachments of the *Papacy*, Others (upon what conſiderations I ſhall not enquire) were pleaſed to ſet up a new Form and Model of Policy, with a modeſt kind proteſtation, Cal. Inſt. lib. 4. Cap. 10. §. 32, *ne eccleſia eccleſiam contemnat ob externæ diſciplinæ variatatem*, that theſe their different Meaſures, ſhou'd be no Ground of breach between them, and other *Reformed Churches:* But this did not prevent Diſputes upon that Head, and every Church defending its own Model, as moſt agreeable to the firſt Inſtitution, the debate came to that height, as to occaſion a ſad Rupture and Schiſm; a Schiſm which has produc'd no where more woful effects, than in theſe three Kingdoms: What Alienation of Minds among profeſſors of the ſame *Reformed Religion*, what Confuſions and barbarous Cruelties, what Convulſions and Revolutions in Church and State, what publick and private Miſchiefs, have ſprung from this Root of Bitterneſs, the Hiſtories of the paſt Age, give a very ſad and lamentable Account: And above all, the malignant Influence it hath had on Religion, to obſtruct the Life and Practice of true Chriſtianity, cannot be ſufficiently *regretted.*

I doubt not but the *Common Enemy*, and they whoſe trade it is to fiſh in muddy Waters, have been very active to *blow this Coal;* but that which hath ſometimes made this Debate break forth in *Veſuvian Flames*, and be diſputed with Fire and Sword, with Blood and Wounds, is, That it hath been incorporated into, and joined with other Political Debates and State-differences; It were eaſie to demonſtrate this, did not the evidence of it render it needleſs; that *Political Intereſts* and *State-differences*, have all along been interwoven with this conteſt about *Church-Government*, and have ſupported and maintained it: And perhaps at the Bottom, 't is none of the leaſt prejudices againſt *Epiſcopacy*, that they of that Perſwaſion have generally aſſerted the *juſt Rights* and *Prerogatives of Princes*, as the ſureſt Foundation of a Kingdoms Happineſs and Tranquility; and accordingly have maintained the Doctrines of *Non-reſiſtance*, and *Paſſive Obedience*, &c. whereas its Rival *Government* hath been thought by ſome, more ſerviceable for Checking and Curbing the *Power of Princes*. Certain it is, there is *too* much of a Carnal and worldly Spirit, that keeps this Debate ſo long alive; and there is little hopes it will die, till Chriſtians be more animated with the true Spirit and Temper of the Goſpel. 1 *Cor.* 3. 3.

I am ſenſible there have been many Volumes which have appear'd in the World upon this Argument, which may ſeem, or be expected to have exhauſted the Subject on both ſides; and this may be a prejudice againſt my preſent undertaking, as ſuperfluous: And the little good effect thoſe Volumes have had, may make it be look'd upon as Preſumption in me to fancy that what I have to offer will do any

any good, where ſo little has been effected by thoſe that have gone before me. But I remember the Story of *Spiridion*, a famous Biſhop, for Piety, Hoſpitality and many Miracles, who, is ſaid, to have confounded, at the Council of *Nice*, a certain Philoſopher, who by the ſubtilty of his Arguments againſt Chriſtianity, ſought to imbaraſs the Biſhops. *Spiridion* takes the Diſcourſe, and prays the Philoſopher, in the Name of Chriſt, to hear him; and ſo goes on, repeating the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, which, when the Philoſopher heard, with great Aſtoniſhment he ſaid; *So long as any reaſoned with me, I oppoſed other Reaſons; but now when God ſpeaks to me, by the Mouth of that old Man, I am not able to anſwer, I find a ſecret force upon my Spirit, convincing me and perſwading me.* I ſhall with God's Aſſiſtance, follow the Method of this holy Man, in giving as plain and impartial an Account of the *Order* and *Government* inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the Chriſtian Church, as I am able to collect from the ſacred *Records* of the New Teſtament, to which I purpoſe cloſely to adhere. Poſſibly, what I offer may have as good effect upon ſome of my Readers, as the good Biſhop's like Conduct upon another Occaſion, had with the Philoſopher: And a clear, and full View of the firſt Scriptural Inſtitution of Church Government ſet before our Eyes, may enable all Parties to ſee moſt clearly which of the Forms now contended for and promoted, bid faireſt to be true Copies of the Divine Original.

To proceed the more Methodically, I ſhall produce what I have to ſay upon this great Subject, under theſe four Heads.

I. Firſt, I will ſhew what ſacred Offices were inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in the Church.

II. Secondly,

II. Secondly, I will make it appear, how theſe Offices were diſtinguiſh'd, and demonſtrate an Imparity among them.

III. Thirdly, I will examine whether any of them were extraordinary and temporary, and prove that they were not, but deſign'd to be perpetual, and ſtanding in the Church.

IV. Fourthly, ſuppoſing theſe Offices to be ſtanding, I will ſhew who ſucceed in them, and rightly execute them to this day.

I. Firſt, then, I am to ſhew what ſacred Offices were inſtituted by Chriſt, and his Apoſtles in the Church.

When our bleſſed Lord appeared in his publick Miniſtry, in the beginning thereof he called many unto him, to be his ordinary Attendants, of whom, ſome had been trained up under *John's* Miniſtry; Theſe were in a peculiar manner his Diſciples, in diſtinction from the multitude of Proſelites, who were gained by his preaching and Miracles; and he made uſe of the Miniſtry of theſe his Diſciples, in baptizing ſuch as were proſelited, as thoſe were baptiz'd, who were made *Proſelites* under the old Diſpenſation. *John* iv. 1, 2. The Eminent Prophets whom GOD raiſed up to his People, gathered a School or College of Diſciples, called, *The Sons of the Prophets*, who were trained up under their Inſpection and Diſcipline to the Prophetical Office: So it is to be conceiv'd of the Diſciples of *John* the Baptiſt, and of our Lord, that they were as two Seminaries wherein many were trained up, under the Diſcipline and Inſtruction of theſe two eminent Maſters as *Candidates* for the Goſpel Miniſtry: Our bleſſed Lord being thus attended, with his *Diſciples*, *Mat.* 9. went about, *in his own Perſon*, "all the Cities and Villages, "teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the Goſpel of "the

"the Kingdom, and healing every Sickneſs and every Diſeaſe "among the People. And when he ſaw the Multitudes come "Flocking to him from all quarters, he was moved with Com- "paſſion on them, becauſe they fainted, (*being 't is like wearied "with their long Journies*) and were ſcattered abroad as "Sheep having no Shepherd. John iv. 35–8. Then ſaid "he to his Diſciples, the Harveſt truly is plenteous, but the "Labourers are few, pray ye the Lord of the Harveſt, that he "ſend forth Labourers to his Harveſt. Upon this St. *Mark* tells us, iii. 13–14, "He goeth unto a Mountain, and calleth "unto him whom he would, and they came unto him. St. *Luke* adds, vi. 12–13, "That he went to this Mountain to "pray, and continued all night in Prayer to GOD, and when "it was day, he called unto him his Diſciples, and of them he "choſe and ordained twelve, that they ſhould be with him, "and that he might ſend them forth to preach; whom alſo "he named *APOSTLES.*

Some time after, *Luke* ix. 1–2, *He called theſe twelve together, and gave them Power and Authority over all Devils, and to cure Diſeaſes, and ſent them forth to preach the Kingdom of GOD, and to heal the Sick;* We have their Commiſſion at large, *Matth.* 10. After their return from executing which firſt Commiſſion, they continue with their Maſter as his conſtant Attendants; and we read not, that, during his abode on Earth, they were ſent forth a ſecond time; until he gave them their laſt and full Commiſſion, a little before his Aſcenſion.

Some time after the return of the Apoſtles, *Luke* x. *He appointed other ſeventy, and ſent them forth,* with the ſame Commiſſion and the ſame Power, that he had ſent the Apoſtles,

Apoſtles, to preach the Goſpel, to caſt out Devils, to heal Diſeaſes, and almoſt in all things with the ſame inſtructions, concerning their Conduct: which makes the *Continuator of* Pool's *Annotations on the place*, ſay, *how ſome come to imagine a difference of Order betwixt them and the Apoſtles, I cannot tell:* Yet *Calvin* ſcruples not to call them, in dignity leſs than the Apoſtles, next in Office to them, deſigned by Chriſt in the ſecond place after the Apoſtles. Cal. Inſt. lib. 4. Cap. 3. Sect. 4. *dignitate Apoſtolis minores, Officiis proximi, quos ſecundo ab Apoſtolis loco Chriſtus deſignavit.*

Here we ſee, in what a ſolemn manner, Chriſt inſtituted the firſt and prime Officers of his Church, who are particularly deſcribed by their Number, Names, and that honourable Deſignation by which he called them: Whom he alſo named Apoſtles.

Indeed all the difference expreſſed in theſe two *Miſſions*, is, that we read not of ſuch a *ſolemn Inauguration* of the *ſeventy* unto their Office, as of the *twelve*; and that the *Twelve* were particularly honoured with the Title of *APOSTLES*, even before they were ſent forth (of the importance of which Name, we ſhall afterwards enquire); but the *ſeventy*, tho' they were ſent forth immediately by Chriſt, are no where ſo called, but only Diſciples. But though their Commiſſion was much the ſame, with what was given to the *Apoſtles*, (who had not as yet received their *full Commiſſion*) yet it is moſt certain, that they were two *diſtinct Orders* of Goſpel Miniſters: they are never numbred together, but in two diſtinct *Claſſes*. The Apoſtles are ſtill *twelve* and not *eighty two*; And (which puts it beyond all queſtion) when a Vacancy falls in the Colledge of *Apoſtles*, by

by the Apoſtacy of *Judas*, what a ſolemn Work was there, at the Tranſlation of one from the Number of Diſciples, that he might be reckoned and numbred with the *Eleven*, and ſucceed to *Judas* his Apoſtle-ſhip? *Acts* I. 13–26.

Thus have we ſeen two Orders of Goſpel Miniſters inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf. There is a third Order inſtituted by his Apoſtles, *that* of *Deacons*. The occaſion, deſign, and manner of inſtituting this new Order, we have fully ſet down in the ſixth Chapter of the *Acts* of the holy Apoſtles, from the firſt to the ſeventh *verſe*.

Of this Inſtitution I ſhall only obſerve, That *it* was made by the *twelve Apoſtles*, to whom the *Government* of the Church was principally committed, and who had Power and Authority to inſtitute new Offices and Officers as the Exigence of the Church ſhould require; That theſe *Deacons* were appointed and ſet apart to their Office by the *Apoſtles*, with the Ceremony of *Prayer and Impoſition of Hands*, which was uſual in deſigning and appointing Perſons to any ſacred Office, in the Goſpel Miniſtry: And further, that theſe *Deacons* thus ſeparated and ordained, were inveſted with ſome ſhare of the *Apoſtolick Office*, particularly of *Preaching* and *Baptizing*, as well as managing the publick Stock of the Church, which they exerted in ſubordination to the *Apoſtles*, under their Inſpection and by their Direction; That *Stephen* was a Preacher (and the reſt of them, of whom we have nothing on record, ſave their Names) as well as *Philip*, cannot be doubted. *Stephen* by his Zeal in propagating the Goſpel, became the firſt Martyr; and of *Philip* we expreſly read, that by his Preaching, he converted *Samaria*

Samaria and initiated the Converts there, into the Chriſtian Profeſſion by *Baptiſm.* Hence we afterwards find him dignified with the honourable Title of *Philip the Evangeliſt,* though but one of the Seven. *Act.* 8. and 21. 2.

This I obſerve to ſhew the vaſt difference betwixt theſe *Goſpel Deacons* inſtituted and ordained by the *Apoſtles,* and *thoſe* who are named *Deacons* under the *Presbyterian* Model, without any Ordination or Power to Preach or Baptize, that none may be impoſed upon by the bare Name, to think them to be of *Divine* or *Apoſtolick Inſtitution.*

Thus much ſhall ſerve to ſhew what I promis'd in the firſt place, what ſacred Offices were inſtituted by Chriſt, and his Apoſtles in the Church.

II. I now come to what I promis'd in the ſecond place, to make it appear how theſe Offices were diſtinguiſhed; and demonſtrate an imparity among them.

Now of the laſt mentioned, there is no debate; all acknowledge that *Deacons* were different from, and inferiour to the two former Offices of Apoſtles, and the Seventy; 'tis of theſe two that ſome are pleaſed to pronounce that they are one and the ſame; whereas what I have already obſerved of their Inſtitution, plainly ſhows them to have been diſtinct Offices, and they are every where ſpoken of in Scripture as ſuch: particularly in that enumeration of Goſpel Officers, 1 *Cor.* 12. 28. *God hath ſet in his Church, firſt Apoſtles, ſecondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers: Are all Apoſtles, are all Prophets, are all Teachers?* Though every Apoſtle was a Prophet and Teacher, the Superiour Order including the Inferiour; yet every Prophet and Teacher, was not an Apoſtle (as for the reſt in that Enumeration, they are not diſtinct

diſtinct Offices, but various and different Powers and Gifts wherewith the Goſpel Officers were endued.)

Suppoſing then the *Deacons* inferiour to the Apoſtles and Seventy, the queſtion is concerning the *twelve* who were called *Apoſtles*, and the *ſeventy and others of their Order*, who go by the name of Prophets, in a Goſpel Senſe; Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments, ſuch as *Judas* and *Silas* were; who are alſo called *Prophets*, *Evangeliſts*, *Paſtors* and *Teachers* in the 4th Chapter to the *Epheſians* and the 11th *Verſe*. *Acts* 15. 32. *Eph.* 2. 20. Ch. 3. 5. 1 *Cor.* 14. 3.

I ſay, the queſtion is whether theſe *Prophets*, *Paſtors* and *Teachers* and *Evangeliſts*, were of the ſame Office and Order with the *Apoſtles*? Or, whether they were of a *diſtinct Office* and *Order*, and inferiour to that of the *Apoſtles?* For clearing this we muſt conſider their *Commiſſions*, and the Exerciſe of their Office conformable to their Commiſſions.

And firſt of the *Apoſtles*. All that their firſt Commiſſion did bear, was to Preach the Goſpel and to Adminiſter the Ordinances of Religion; and this was all the exerciſe of their Apoſtolick Office that we read of, during Chriſt's bodily preſence with them, and in this, (as I ſaid) they differed little from the *ſeventy*: But when Chriſt was to leave the Earth, having finiſhed the Work of our Redemption, He enlarged their Commiſſion, and put them in actual exerciſe of their Apoſtolick Power and Office. *All Power* (ſays he) *is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth, go ye therefore and Diſciple all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am*

am with you alway even to the end of the World. And he liſted up his Hands, and bleſſed them, and ſaid unto them, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you,* "and thus ſaying, he "breathed upon them, and ſaid unto them, "Receive ye the "Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſoever Sins ye forgive, they are forgiven, "and whoſe ſoever Sins ye retain, they are retained. We read moreover, "That through the Holy Ghoſt he gave Com-"mandments to his Apoſtles whom he had choſen, to whom "he ſhewed himſelf alive after his Sufferings, by many infal-"lible Signs, being ſeen of them for the ſpace of Forty "Days, and ſpeaking unto them of the things pertaining "to the Kingdom of God. Matth. 28. 17, 18. Luke 24. 50. John 20. 21. Acts 1. *Cave*'s Antiq. Apoſt. Introduct. §. 1. 5.

All this Commiſſion and Inſtruction was given particularly to the *Apoſtles*, as being his *Prime* and Special Delegates, whom he intruſted with the Affairs of his Church, to act and do, in his Name and his Authority; And this is the common Notion and Importance of the Word *Apoſtle*, according to the uſe of the Word among the *Jews:* He is a Meſſenger endued with peculiar Letters of Authority and Commiſſion, whereby he acts as Proxy and Deputy of him who ſends him; and it is a Proverb among the *Jews*, that *every Man's Apoſtle is as himſelf:* What he does by vertue of his Commiſſion, is look'd upon to be as firm and valid, as if the Perſon himſelf had done it.

Theſe *Twelve* then whom Chriſt named *Apoſtles*, were to repreſent his Perſon, to act as his ſpecial *Ambaſſadors*, to communicate his Will and Mind, to preach and propagate his Goſpel, to inſtruct and diſciple the World in the Doc-

trines

trines and Precepts of Chriſtianity, and on this Doctrine to found and build the Church, and to govern the ſame in his Name and Authority, conſtituting and ordaining Miniſters of Religion, ſettling good Order, and diſpoſing all Affairs for the Edification of the Church, determining and deciding Controverſies in Religion, compoſing Differences, inſpecting and ſuperintending the ordinary Paſtors in the Diſcharge of their Office, cenſuring and puniſhing contumacious Offenders, and looſing ſuch as were Penitent. This the Apoſtle calls the *Care of all the Churches*, eſpecially them of his Province, 2 Cor. 11. 28; for, their Commiſſion was unlimited and univerſal, not only in reſpect of *Power*, to diſcharge all Acts of Religion, relating either to *Miniſtry* or *Government*; but alſo in reſpect of *Place*, not being confined to any particular Province, but ſent to the whole World; yet for the more orderly executing their Commiſſion, they are ſaid, by the Ancients to have parcelled the World among them: and ſomething like this ſeems to be inſinuated on two ſeveral occaſions by St. *Paul* himſelf.

This *Power* and *Authority* conveyed by Commiſſion to the Apoſtles, was equally conferred upon all of them: Whatever Order there was among them, yet no *Superiority* or *Power* of one Apoſtle above another, 2 Cor. 10. 13. Gal. 2. 9: Though *Paul*, with reſpect to his former ſtate, counted himſelf the leaſt of all the Apoſtles, being before a Perſecutor, and one born out of time, as he words it. Yet as to *Power* and *Authority*, he owns himſelf not Inferior even to the *chiefeſt Apoſtles*. 1 Cor. 15. 9, 10.

And as their *Office* was high and eminent, no leſs were the *Gifts* and *Endowments*, by which they were qualified for it:

it: They had been Eye and Ear Witneſſes of Chriſt's Life, Doctrine, Miracles; and beſides the benefit of his publick Miniſtry, had enjoyed the Advantage of his private Converſe, and were well acquainted with all the Paſſages of his Life, at leaſt from his entering into his *publick Miniſtry*, till the Day of *Aſcenſion:* They were immediately taught and inſtructed by him in all things, pertaining to the Kingdom of GOD: He had opened their Minds to underſtand the Scriptures, and endued them with the *Holy Ghoſt*, to guide them into all Truth, ſo that they were infallibly ſecured from Error, in delivering the Doctrines and Principles of Chriſtianity: And to confirm their Doctrine, they were endued with many *Extraordinary Gifts* and *Powers*, to work Miracles, to heal all manner of Diſeaſes, to caſt out Devils, to ſpeak with divers Tongues, to interpret ſtrange Tongues, to foretel things to come, to diſcern Spirits, to inflict Corporal Puniſhments on Notorious Sinners; and (which was peculiar to them) they had Power to confer theſe *Extraordinary Gifts* upon others.

Thus have I given you an Account of the Commiſſion by which the Apoſtles acted, I come now to conſider the Commiſſion given to the other Order of *Church Officers*, inſtituted by Chriſt, the *Seventy Diſciples*; in whom the *Order* of *Presbyters* and ordinary *Paſtors* and *Teachers* is ſuppoſed to be founded: Now, as it is already ſhewn, They received their Commiſſion immediately from Chriſt, as well as the Apoſtles, and were authorized to preach the *Goſpel*, and endued with *Extraordinary Gifts* of working Miracles, healing Diſeaſes, *&c.* and unto them no leſs than unto the *Apoſtles*, Chriſt ſaid, *He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that*

that rejecteth you, rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me, rejecteth him that ſent me. So that in their Meaſure and Proportion, ſo far as their Commiſſion extended, they were Chriſt's *Meſſengers* and *Ambaſſadors* alſo, though not in the ſame *Order* and *Quality* with the *Apoſtles*, as we have ſeen in part already. Luke 10. 16.

Indeed from the Account we have of them and their Miniſtry in the Sacred Hiſtory, we cannot frame a more juſt and true Notion of this *Second Order* of *Church Officers*, than that they were inſtituted to be *Aſſiſtants* and *Helpers* to the *Apoſtles* in the Work of the *Goſpel*.

And I know nothing which will give us a better Reaſon for this Notion than this Conſideration, that as it was the ſame *Lord* and *Law-giver*, the ſame *Maſter-builder*, who had framed the *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical Policy* among the *Jews*, under the *Legal Diſpenſation*, who does Erect this *New Fabrick* of his *Goſpel-Church*; ſo 'tis reaſonable to expect as great a Symmetry and Proportion between the one and the other, as the Difference of the two *Diſpenſations* will allow: And it is the Opinion of many Ancient and Modern Divines, That our Bleſſed Lord in many of his *Goſpel Inſtitutions*, had ſome reſpect to the ſtate of things in the *Jewiſh Church*, as might be ſhewed in many Inſtances: And particularly will appear in theſe Offices, which he inſtituted in the *Goſpel Church*, not only in making them of a *Superior* and *Inferior Order*, as under the *Moſaick Diſpenſation*, but alſo, as to the Reaſon and Deſign of theſe different Orders; for after *Aaron* and his Sons were inſtalled in the Prieſt's Office, GOD gave unto them the whole Tribe of *Levi* to Miniſter unto them, in the Charge of the Tabernacle, Numb. 3.

Numb. 3. So alſo, when *Moſes* was vexed with the untowardlineſs of the People, and complained to GOD of the Weight and Burden of his Charge, and that the Care and Government of ſuch an unruly People was committed to him alone, Numb. 11; the Lord orders that *Seventy* Men, of the *Elders* of the People, be choſen and preſented before him at the Door of the Tabernacle, and he took of the Spirit that was upon *Moſes*, and put it upon them, that they might bear the burden of the People with him, and he might not bear it alone. Now, whether the *Apoſtles* after their firſt Progreſs, returned, with any ſuch Complaint of the greatneſs of their Charge, we read not, except it be inſinuated by St. *Mark*, when he ſays, That after their return, Chriſt called them apart to a deſert Place to reſt themſelves a while, Mark 6. 31: However, certain it is, our Bleſſed Lord well knew the greatneſs of their Work, and ſhortly after, inſtituted that other *Order* of Goſpel Miniſters, the *Seventy* to be Aſſiſtants to the Apoſtles; and accordingly we find the Apoſtles frequently making uſe of the Miniſtry and Aſſiſtance of them of that *Second Order*, either taking ſome of them along with them in their Travels, to Miniſter unto them in propagating the Goſpel among the *Jews* or Heathens; or elſe fixing them in places where the Goſpel was received, and Churches founded; or elſe in ſending them with Apoſtolick Orders to Churches that were at a diſtance: And 'tis probable that according to the different Exerciſes of their Miniſtry, they were deſigned ſometimes *Evangeliſts*, when they laboured in converting *Jews*, or Heathens to the Faith; ſometimes *Paſtors* and *Teachers*, when they exerciſed their Miniſtry among them that were already converted; and generally

generally they paſs under the Name of *Brethren* and *Elders*, or *Presbyters*, in diſtinction from the *Apoſtles*.

From theſe *different Commiſſions* given to the *Apoſtles* and the *Seventy*, 'tis evident that there was a *Diſtinction* betwixt their *Offices*, and that the Apoſtolick Office was Superior to that of the Seventy, which great Truth may alſo farther be ſhown by ſeveral very weighty Arguments: For although the Apoſtles did manage the Authority we ſuppoſe they had, ſo much with the Spirit of their Lord and Maſter, who, though he was their Lord and Maſter, yet humbled himſelf *to waſh their Feet*, and treated them rather as Friends than Servants, and behaved himſelf among them as one that ſerved, although they (I ſay) following his Example, behaved themſelves with the greateſt gentleneſs and ſweetneſs of Temper toward their Inferiors ſeldom making uſe of their Authority in any ſevere manner, John 13. 13. 15. 15. Luke 22. 27; whereof we have a notable Inſtance in the Epiſtle of *Paul* to *Philemon*, a Miniſter of the Goſpel, where he ſays, *Though I might be much bold in Chriſt to enjoyn thee, that which is convenient, yet for loves ſake, I rather beſeech thee.* Philem. ver. 8, 9. Yet, that they had ſuch Authority over the other Paſtors and Teachers in the Church, appears from ſeveral Inſtances of their exerciſing it in ſeveral reſpects and ways, as is recorded in the Sacred Hiſtory. I ſhall inſtance in ſome particulars in Confirmation of this Truth, in the order as they occur to us in Holy Writ.

1. And *Firſt*, we read that the Apoſtles abode for ſome time in *Jeruſalem*, and the Brethren with them (no doubt according to ſome Order given them by their Lord) to ſettle and

eſtabliſh the Chriſtian Church there; but when the Perſecution aroſe about *Stephen*, all almoſt, except the Apoſtles, were ſcattered abroad through the Regions of *Judæa* and *Samaria*: *Philip*, one of the Seven Deacons, went down to *Samaria*, preached the Goſpel, wrought Miracles, converted many of that City to the Faith, and initiated his Converts by Baptiſm: Others went as far as *Phenice*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*, where a great number believed and turned to the Lord: When the Apoſtles heard of this, *Peter* and *John* are ſent to *Samaria*, to confirm and ſettle the Church there, and to confer upon them the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt. Acts 8. 14. For though the Brethren had Power to Preach and Baptize, and Work Miracles, yet it belonged to the *Apoſtles* to ſettle and eſtabliſh Order in the new founded *Churches*, and to confer the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt: *Paul* and *Barnabas* were alſo ſent to *Antioch* upon the like Errand. Acts 11. 26.

2. *Secondly*, We find that when the Apoſtles went abroad to execute their Commiſſion in *Diſcipling* the World, they were attended by ſome of the Brethren, as their Aſſiſtants and Miniſters: Six attended *Peter* from *Joppa* to *Ceſarea*, and from thence to *Jeruſalem*; and to them it was that he gave Orders for Baptizing *Cornelius*'s Family; and them he brings as Witneſſes for his Vindication, when challenged by them of the Circumciſion, for his Converſe with the *Gentiles*. Acts 10. 13, 38. *Paul* and *Barnabas* had *John*, ſurnamed *Mark*, one of the *Seventy*, for their Miniſter, in their firſt Progreſs, who after ſome time *departed from them*, for which *Paul* is highly diſpleaſed with him, and will not admit him again to be one of his Attendants, becauſe he had departed

and

and *went not with them to the Work.* Acts 11. 12. 12. 25. 13. 5. Verſe 13. 15. 38. This was the occaſion of ſome Contention betwixt *Paul* and *Barnabas*, which came to that height, that they departed aſunder the one from the other; *Barnabas* going to *Cyprus*, attended by *Mark*, his Siſter's Son; and *Paul* to *Syria* and *Cilicia*, attended by *Silas.*

As *Paul*'s Province was enlarged, by the Converſion of many Cities and Countries unto the Faith, the Number of his Attendants and Aſſiſtants in the Work of the Goſpel did alſo increaſe, many accompanied him from place to place, beſides theſe Paſtors, whom he ſettled in every City that had received the Goſpel.

3. *Thirdly*, Theſe *Inferior Paſtors* were generally very obſequious to the Orders of the *Apoſtles*, going whither they ſent them to Viſit planted Churches; coming when they called them, to give their perſonal Attendance; and ſerving with them in the Work of the Goſpel, as Sons with their Fathers, as *Paul* ſays of *Timothy*. Phil. 2. 22.

4. *Fourthly*, When any of them proved Refractory and Diſobedient to the Orders of the *Apoſtles*, they are blamed for it, and ſometimes threatned with Cenſures; ſuch were ſome Teachers at *Corinth*, who deſpiſed and decried *Paul*'s Apoſtleſhip, whom he threatens for their diſorderly Conduct with the Apoſtolical Rod. 1 Cor. 4: 18, 19.

5. *Fifthly*, And when he is giving *Apoſtolical Orders*, for Redreſſing and Reforming ſome Irregularities and Abuſes in the Publick Worſhip, occaſioned through the Pride or Impudence of ſome of their Prophets and Teachers, who (it ſeems) were too much puffed up with their Spiritual Gifts; he writes to them in an Authoritative Stile; *What?* ſays he,

he, *Came the Word of God out from you, or came it unto you only? If any Man think himſelf to be a Prophet or Spiritual,* Let him *acknowledge that the things that I write unto you, are the Commandments of the Lord, i. e.* that I as an Apoſtle, have Power from the Lord to give Commandments and Orders in theſe matters, which concern the decent and orderly Performance of the Publick Worſhip; but if any be ignorant, let him be ignorant. 1 Cor. 14. 36, 37. He complains alſo of others, who *added Affliction to his Bonds, preaching Chriſt out of Contention and Strife,* diſowning his Apoſtleſhip, refuſing to receive his Commands; yea walking contrary to his Orders, while others preached Chriſt out of *Love,* owning his Apoſtleſhip, *knowing that he was ſet for the Defence of the Goſpel.* Phil. 1. 15, &c. And when this holy Apoſtle's Back was at the Wall, in Priſon, and hazard of Death, many who had been formerly his Attendants and Aſſiſtants in the Goſpel-work, deſerted him, when he ſtood moſt in need of their Miniſtry; which, he prays, might not be *laid to their charge.* 2 Tim. 4. 10, 16.

6. *Sixthly,* In like manner St. *John* the *Apoſtle* complains of one *Diotrephes,* who *affected a pre-eminence* over the Church, diſowned the Authority of the Apoſtle, refuſed to receive the Orders which he ſent to the Church, or the Brethren by whom he ſent them; yea, preſumptuouſly took upon him to caſt theſe Brethren, and ſuch who were willing to receive them, out of the Communion of the Church, and to all, added contemptuous and ſlighting Words of the *Apoſtle*; whom the *Apoſtle* threatens, when he comes, to chaſtiſe for his Pride and Inſolence, in rejecting the Orders of his Superior, and arrogating to himſelf that Superiority to which he

he had no Call or Title; for which Malepertneſs, the Apoſtle no doubt exerciſed his Apoſtolical Power in cenſuring him, if he did not prevent it by Repentance. John 3. 9, 10.

In a Word, through all the *New-Teſtament* Hiſtory, we read of none who oppoſed the *Authority of the Apoſtles*, but ſuch as were *Hereticks* and *Diſturbers* of the Church's Peace, who every where made it their Buſineſs to depreſs the Credit and Authority of the *True Apoſtles*, 2 Cor. 11. 13, 14; and to gain the more eaſily Proſelites to their falſe Doctrines, they either pretend that they themſelves were Apoſtles, or elſe that they themſelves were Commiſſioned by the Apoſtles, whereas truly they were ſuch as had departed from the Communion of the Apoſtles, as St. *John* tells us. Acts 15. 24. 1 John 2. 19. Jude 11. And St. *Jude* gives us this Account of them, *Wo unto them, they have gone in the way of* Cain, a Murderer of his Brother, *and ran greedily after the Error of* Balaam, a covetous Wretch, *and have periſhed in the gainſaying of* Corah, a proud ambitious *Levite*, who diſdaining to ſubject himſelf to that Order God had ſettled in his Church, and Murmuring to be ſet in a lower Station among the *Levites*, aſpired to the Prieſthood. Numb. 16. 8, 9, 10. Now it is not eaſy to underſtand, how theſe *Hereticks* could correſpond with *Corah* in his Sin, if Chriſt had ſettled a *Parity among Church-Officers*, and not a *Superior* and *Inferior* Order.

And as all true Paſtors and Teachers were faithful and dutiful Aſſiſtants and Helpers, with the *Apoſtles* in the Work of the Goſpel, and punctual obſervers of all Apoſtolick Orders and Commands: So on the other hand, The *Apoſtles* pay'd always that reſpect unto the Paſtors, that was due unto their Character,

acter, not treating them as Underlings and Servants, but as Brethren and Fellow-labourers and Helpers, admitting them to all their Conſultations about Church Affairs, joyning their Names with their own, in the Apoſtolical Decrees and Conſtitutions; yet always, with a clear Indication of Diſtinction and *Subordination* of their Order unto that of the *Apoſtles*. See Acts 1. and 15. 22, 23. Yea, and in ſome of *Paul*'s Epiſtles to the Churches, after that he deſigns himſelf the *Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt*, he ſubjoyns the Names of ſome of his Brethren, his Aſſiſtants and Fellow-helpers in the Work of the Goſpel. And he does moſt earneſtly recommend to the Church, That they have their *Paſtors* in Reputation and Honour. Philip. 2. 29. *That they know them that labour among them, and are over them in the Lord, and admoniſh them, and that they eſteem them very highly in love for their works ſake.* That they remember their Rulers with Reſpect, *obey them, and be ſubject to them.* 1 Theſſ. 5. 12, 13. Heb. 13. 6. and 17.

Notwithſtanding which, when his Apoſtleſhip is called in queſtion, or when it is ſet upon a Level with the *Inferior Order*, with what holy Zeal does he aſſert the Dignity and Authority of his *Apoſtleſhip*: So when the Factious *Corinthians* began to ſtate themſelves in Parties, and to ſet in Oppoſition, or at leaſt, upon a Level with him, ſome of their Teachers, ſaying, *I am of* Paul, *and I of* Apollo: He owns *himſelf* the Planter, *Apollo* the Waterer: *Himſelf* the Maſter-builder, *Apollo*, and others, as Builders with him. 1 Cor. 3. 6. *&c.* Chap. 4: 6. 'Tis true, in this matter, he but borrows his own Name and *Apollo*'s, as he tells us; for it was far from the Apoſtles to ſet up themſelves, as Heads of Factions one

one againſt another, neither did any of the faithful Paſtors, ſuch as *Apollo* was, attempt any ſuch thing. No, it was the turbulent Paſtors and Teachers who introduced theſe Factions, with deſign, no doubt, to depreſs the Authority of the Apoſtle, and advance their own, and to gain Followers. To correct the Arrogance of theſe Teachers, who being puffed up with their Spiritual Gifts, durſt thus ſet up themſelves in Competition with, or Oppoſition to, the Apoſtle; and the Ficklenes and Fondneſs of the *Corinthians*, their Admirers and Followers, he repreſents ſeveral things, and an heavy Complaint of the ill Treatment he, and other Apoſtles, had met with from them. He puts them in mind, that *though they had ten thouſand Inſtructers in Chriſt*, yet they were obliged to own *him as their Father, who had begotten them in Chriſt by the Goſpel*, and therefore ought to be Followers of him. And if this his Fatherly Admonition did not reclaim them, he threatens both theſe Factious Teachers and their Abettors with his Apoſtolick Rod. 1 Cor. 4. It was upon the ſame, or the like occaſion, that we find him with holy Keenneſs aſſerting and proving his Apoſtleſhip, magnifying his Office, boaſting of that Authority he had received from Chriſt, and once and again maintaining that he was not *Inferior to the chiefeſt Apoſtles.* 1 Cor. 9. 2 Cor. 10. 11, 12, 13. Chapters. To what purpoſe all this, either their denying his Apoſtleſhip, or his ſtrenuouſly aſſerting it, if there had not been an *Eminency of Power and Authority* in the *Apoſtolate*, above the *Ordinary* Paſtor and Teacher?

Prophecy, ſays *Chryſoſtome*, Serm. de util. S Scrip. Tom 8. pag. 114. Edit. Savil, the Gift of Miracles, the expelling *Demons*, the Order of Paſtors and Teachers, were all Spiritual

itual Powers, and Enſigns of great Authority; but the Apoſtolic Eminency was far greater than all theſe, which he therefore calls a Spiritual Conſulſhip. An Apoſtle having as great Pre-eminence above other Officers in the Church, as the Conſul had above all other Magiſtrates in *Rome*; which is allow'd by *Calvin*, who acknowledges a Biſhop to be, *ut Conſul in Senatu*, as Conſul in the Senate. Inſt. Lib, 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 2.

Thus, I think, I have done with what I propos'd to make appear in the Second Place, having demonſtratively ſhown how the Goſpel-Officers were diſtinguiſhed, and that there was a Diſparity among them.

III. I am to examine, *Thirdly*, Whether any of them were Extraordinary and Temporary, and prove that they were not; but deſign'd to be perpetual and ſtanding in the Church.

And this is the Hinge on which the whole Controverſey in this matter depends, yea, all the Authority and Obligation of Chriſt's firſt inſtitution, as to the preſent Church; for if his Inſtitution was Extraordinary and Temporary in any part, it is ſo far as it was of this Nature, no Rule or Standard now: But if the Order he inſtituted was to be perpetual and ſtanding, then it continues Obligatory to the end of the World; and it muſt be to all Chriſtians, what the Pattern in the Mount was to *Moſes* and the *Jews*, a conſtant Standard by which the Church is to be moulded and framed in all After-Ages: I ſhall therefore impartially examine into this matter.

And, *1ſt*, it is acknowledged by all, that many of the Gifts and Powers wherewith both Apoſtles, and other Paſtors were

were endued, were *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*, being deſigned only, as the Apoſtle ſays of Tongues, *for Signs*, to convince Unbelievers of the Divinity of that Doctrine which they ſaw atteſted by ſuch *Miraculous Operations*, 1 Cor. 14. 22: But the Goſpel-Doctrine being once ſufficiently atteſted and confirmed, there was no further need of continuing them, and they have long ſince ceaſed in the Church.

2*dly*, 'Tis alſo acknowledged, that ſome things *peculiar* to the firſt *Apoſtles*, were *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*, and expired with their Perſons. Such as, Their having been eye and ear Witneſſes of Chriſt's Life, Doctrine, Miracles, Sufferings, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion. Their having received their Commiſſion immediately from Chriſt. Their being infallible Guides in delivering the Doctrines of the Goſpel. Their unlimited Commiſſion to all the World, and Juriſdiction over all Churches. Their Power to confer miraculous Gifts on others, to diſcern Spirits, and to back their Cenſures with corporal Puniſhments, as on *Ananias* and *Saphira* and *Elimas*: and perhaps, to theſe may be added their power to inſtitute new Goſpel Officers and Miniſters, as the exigence of the Church ſhould require; as they did that of *Deacons*. All theſe extraordinary Powers and Gifts, whether they which were peculiar to the Apoſtles, or ſuch as were common to them and other inferiour Miniſters, had a particular reſpect to the firſt planting of the Goſpel, and the erecting and conſtituting of the Chriſtian Church in the World: which when performed, theſe extraordinary Powers ceaſed: but,

3*dly*, Beſides theſe, There was the ordinary Power and Authority of the Apoſtles, which was to ſerve the Edifica-

tion, good Order and Government of the Conſtituted Church in all ſucceeding Ages: Such as, Their power to preach the Goſpel, adminiſter the Sacraments, and perform all the Offices of Religion, common to them with other Paſtors. More particularly, to preſerve the Offices inſtituted by Chriſt in his Church, by ordaining Miniſters of Religion in all the three diſtinct Offices: To Govern the Churches, and ſuperintend both Paſtors and People: To Judge, Correct and Cenſure Miſdemeanors either in the one or other: To ſettle good Conſtitutions agreeable to the Word of God, for the orderly and decent performance of all the Ordinances of Religion, Publick Worſhip and other Affairs of Diſcipline, as the exigence of the Church ſhould require: And finally, By their Authority and Care, to preſerve the Church from the Corruptions of Error, Superſtition, Faction, Schiſm, and Prophaneſs, by their right uſe of the Keys and the Power of binding and looſing committed to them: All which are proper parts of the Apoſtolick Office, always neceſſary for the good of the Church; and no part more neceſſary than their Authoritative Inſpection, over the ordinary Paſtors, that they be well qualified for the Paſtoral Office before they be admitted thereto, and when admitted, they perform the ſame, with Faithfulneſs and Diligence, with Prudence and Diſcretion, and in Peace and Concord with their Brethren. Now, theſe things being Premiſed, I come to an impartial Examination of the matter in hand.

And here I muſt needs confeſs I think there is nothing more evident upon the ſlighteſt Examination than that Chriſt in Inſtituting theſe Orders and Offices, deſigned, that they ſhould be ſtanding and unalterable Conſtitutions in his Church,

Church, to continue for its Edification to the end of the World: And of none, is the unalterableneſs of Inſtitution more evident, than of the Apoſtolick Office, (which ſome contend to be temporary and extraordinary.)

For *1ſt*, When Chriſt gave them their full and laſt Commiſſion, Mat. 28. 19, He enjoyns them to reach all Nations, whom they ſhould Diſciple, to obſerve all things whatſoever he had *commanded them*, of which the *Order* and *Offices*, he had inſtituted, were a part, which accordingly they were to ſettle in all new founded Churches: And then he adds, *Lo I am with you alway to the end of the World*: But how could that be, if their Office was to expire with themſelves? We muſt then underſtand it, as a promiſe, not to them only, but to their *Succeſſors* alſo: not to their *Perſons* only, but to their *Office*, which was to continue to the end of the World, even ſo long as Chriſt was to have a Church upon Earth.

2dly, The Apoſtle S. *Paul* tells us, 1 Cor. 12. 28, *God hath ſet ſome in his Church, firſt Apoſtles, ſecondly Prophets, thirdly Teachers* (what follow, are not diſtinct Offices from theſe, but extraordinary Gifts conferred on them.) *God hath ſet*, even He, who ſettled the Ordinances of Heaven, which none can alter, hath fixed theſe different Orders in his Church: or rather, to uſe the Apoſtles Simile, as God hath ſet various and different Members in the natural Body, ſome more excellent and honourable, yet all uſeful and neceſſary to the Beauty and Integrity of the whole; he has done the ſame by his Church: So that whoever would deprive the Church of any of theſe Sacred Offices ſet in it by God, endeavours no leſs than to mutilate and deform it, to pluck out one of its Eyes, or cut off one of its Hands: And how heinous

heinous the Guilt muſt be, ſo to treat the Body whereof Chriſt Jeſus is Head, let them conſider who preſume to do it.

But farther, Thirdly, in the 4th Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, we have an unconteſtible Teſtimony, proving the perpetual continuance of theſe Offices inſtituted by Chriſt, taken from the end and deſign for which they were inſtituted, Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13, 14: *He gave ſome Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, ſome Paſtors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying the Body of Chriſt, till we all come in the unity of the Faith and of the Knowledge of the Son of GOD unto a perfect Man, unto the Meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt*; That we henceforth *be no more Children toſſed to and fro, and carried about by every wind of Doctrine, by the ſlight of Men and cunning Craftineſs, whereby they lie in wait to deceive*: Where it is plain, theſe Offices were to continue till the Church ſhould be perfected, fully brought in, and fully advanced, and till it ſhould be beyond all hazard of being ſeduced, that is, *to the end of the World.* We ſee the end for which theſe Offices were Inſtituted, and how long they were to continue, expreſly ſet down.

If any ſay, That here are more Offices than are pleaded for: The Anſwer is obvious, that theſe different Deſignations do not import different Offices, but different Exerciſes of the ſame Office: For Inſtance, an Apoſtle, Presbyter or Deacon, might be a Prophet, Evangeliſt, Doctor or Teacher. If employed in converting Jews or Heathens to the Faith, he did the Work of an Evangeliſt, and on this Account *Philip*, one of the ſeven Deacons, is ſo call'd. If

in

in Inſtructing them who were already Converted, that was the Work of an *ordinary Paſtor*: If he laboured mainly in explaining and confirming the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, he acted the Part of a *Doctor* or *Teacher:* If he further improved theſe Doctrines to Edification, Exhortation and Comfort, that was the Work of the *Prophet*, in the Goſpel Senſe. Thus *Judas* and *Silas*, two Presbyters, are called *Prophets*; ſo that all theſe are reducible to the three Offices, of whoſe Inſtitution we have given a particular Account. Acts 21. 8. 1 Cor. 14. 3. Acts 15. 32.

And now, if theſe different Orders of Goſpel Miniſters inſtituted by Chriſt, were deſigned by him to be perpetual ſtanding Offices in his Church, for its Edification, good Order and Government, *to the end of the World*, as is evident from what hath been ſaid; there muſt of Neceſſity be a Succeſſion of Perſons, duly called to theſe Offices, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, that the Offices themſelves may be capable of continuing ſtanding in the Church.

And to erect and ſet up a new Office Paramount to theſe inſtituted by Chriſt, ſuch as the *Papacy*, is intolerable Preſumption; for who can have a Power and Authority in the Church above *Apoſtles* who were Chriſt's immediate Delegates, but Chriſt himſelf?

And it is no leſs Preſumption to cut off, or abrogate any of theſe Sacred Offices: 'Tis an overturning that Order eſtabliſhed by Chriſt in his Church, and altering and changing his Inſtitution: It is a Sacrilegious Robbing the Church of theſe Miniſters which Chriſt in his infinite Wiſdom thought neceſſary for her Edification and Perfection. You know what a dreadful Curſe is pronounced againſt them, who either

either add to, or take away from, the Inſtitutions of Jeſus Chriſt in the 18th and 19th Verſes of the 22d Chapter of the *Revelations* of St. *John*.

If it be pretended, that now at leaſt, in the preſent State of the Church, both the *Apoſtolick* and *Prophetick Offices*, may be, to as good Purpoſe, and as great Benefit of the Church, performed by the *ordinary Paſtors*, acting in *Parity*, and that it is therefore needleſs to keep a diſtinction of Offices: This is to pretend to be wiſer than Chriſt: It is to confound and jumble together the different Orders inſtituted by him: It is to ſet up a new Model different from what he not only eſtabliſhed, but alſo appointed to continue in his Church to the end of the World; it is to caſhier Chriſt's *Prime Officers* and *Repreſentatives*, and the Churches *principal Guides*: And to deprive the Church of the Pledges of her Lord's Care and Kindneſs which he gave her, when he Aſcended up unto Heaven.

If then our Bleſſed Lord's Inſtitution be preſerved, there muſt be *Apoſtles*, as well as *Presbyters* and *Deacons* who are not diſputed, that is, Succeſſors to them in their Office in the Chriſtian Church: And who are they? Sure, not every *Paſtor*, nor yet any number of them, however moduled into leſſer or larger Judicatories: I Honour their *Order* and *Office*, but would not have them take too much upon them, nor go beyond their Sphere: They are indeed the *Succeſſors* of the *Seventy*, if duly admitted to the *Paſtoral Office*, and may well rejoyce in that honourable Station to which they are advanced in God's Church, if they Walk worthy of it; but let them remember, that the whole *Seventy* could not fill the Chair of one *Apoſtle*, (for no Man may take this

this Honour to himſelf, but he that is called of *GOD*) until the Holy Ghoſt did determine the Choice of one to that High Office: I doubt not, but there were upwards of ſeven hundred Eminent Paſtors, and all endued with *Extraordinary Gifts*, in the Days of the Apoſtles: But *were all Apoſtles?* Says St. *Paul*, No, they were not.

IV. Which brings me to what I promis'd in the *Fourth* and *Laſt* Place, to ſhew, ſuppoſing theſe Church-Offices to be ſtanding, who ſucceed in them, and rightly execute them to this Day.

I need but do it of the Succeſſors to the Apoſtles, for when that is done, the other comes in of Courſe.

And in clearing this Point, I muſt put you in mind of what was obſerved under the foregoing Head, That the *Apoſtles* were endued with ſome Powers and Gifts, which had a peculiar Reference to the firſt Planting and Propagating the Goſpel, and the firſt Gathering and Conſtituting the Chriſtian Church: Theſe were *Extraordinary*, and did expire with themſelves; and in theſe they have no Succeſſors.

But the queſtion is concerning the *Ordinary Power and Authority* of the Apoſtolick Office, as it was inſtituted and appointed by Chriſt, to be a ſtanding and continuing Office in his Church when conſtituted, to ſerve for the Edification, good Order and Government thereof to all ſucceeding Ages: The Apoſtles were an Order of the Goſpel-Miniſters, Superior to Ordinary Paſtors and Teachers, to whom Chriſt in a ſpecial Manner committed the Care and Government of his Church: To diſpenſe the Word and Sacraments, and perform all Offices of Religion: To Ordain Miniſters of Religion

Religion according to his Inſtitution: To Govern and Superintend his Church both Paſtors and People: To Judge, Correct, and Cenſure Miſdemeanors in the one or other: To ſettle good Orders and Conſtitutions for the orderly and decent performance of all Ordinances of Religion, Publick Worſhip, and Exerciſe of Diſcipline, and to preſerve the Church from Corruption of Error, Superſtition, Faction, Schiſm, and all Irregular Practices. All theſe are proper Parts of the *Apoſtolic Office*, always neceſſary for the good of the Church; and they are alſo the proper Offices of a *Biſhop*, *Overſeer* or *Superintendent*. So that 'tis very evident, that in this ordinary and continuing Part of the Apoſtolick Office, Chriſt hath inſtituted the ſtanding Office of *Biſhops* in his Church, that is an Order of Goſpel-Miniſters, Superior to Paſtors and Teachers, to whom he hath committed the Power and Authority above-mentioned.

That the *Apoſtles* were actually *Biſhops*, and their *Apoſtleſhip* a proper *Epiſcopacy*, as it is expreſly called, *Acts* 1. 20. and that they actually exerted an *Epiſcopal Power* and *Juriſdiction* over the Churches, and the ordinary *Paſtors* and *Teachers*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, I have fully ſhewed in the Second Inquiry. And accordingly we find the Ancients do frequently in their Writings call the *Apoſtles*, *Biſhops*; and no leſs frequently do they ſtile the *Biſhops Apoſtles*, as being their Succeſſors in ordinary; by which 'tis evident, they underſtood, that in the *Apoſtles*, the *Epiſcopal Office* was inſtituted, and that in *Biſhops* the *Apoſtolical Office* is continued in the Church: But this is beyond my Province, having confin'd my ſelf in this Inquiry, to what Light the Sacred Records afford.

And

And in conſulting them we find it evident, *Firſt*, That the *Apoſtles* were a *Superior Order* of Goſpel-Miniſters to *Presbyters* and *Ordinary Paſtors* and *Teachers*: That to theſe Apoſtles Chriſt Committed the chief Care & Government of his Church, as his ſpecial and immediate Delegates and Truſtees: That the *Inferior Paſtors* and *Teachers* did always own and acknowledge the Apoſtles as their Superiors, and did readily receive and obey their Orders: That this *Apoſtolick Order*, Superior to *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, was to continue in the Church: all which we have fully cleared from Scripture in the former Enquiries. Now, what Order of Goſpel-Miniſters is there, *Superior to Ordinary Paſtors and Teachers*, but that of *Biſhops*, in whom the Apoſtolick Order is continued in the Church?

Either then *Biſhops* muſt be the true Succeſſors of the *Apoſtles*, or elſe they have no Succeſſors at all, and the *Apoſtolick Order* and *Office* is quite Extinct, and the Church is totally deprived of the prime and chiefeſt Office inſtituted by Chriſt for its Edification, good Order and Government: And finally, There is now no ſuch Order of Men extant in the World, to whom that large and ample Commiſſion which Chriſt gave only to his *Apoſtles*, does belong: To them it was he gave the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Power of Binding and Looſing: Them he ſent as his Legates and Ambaſſadors to the World, as the Father had ſent him: Them he inſtructed in, and entruſted with the great Affairs of his Kingdom, and to them he made that encouraging and gracious Promiſe, *Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the World.* Now, who can lay Claim to that Commiſſion, or the Promiſe annexed, but the *Apoſtles* and their

Succeſſors? And if they have no Succeſſors now, that they themſelves are Dead, all that Commiſſion falls, and the Promiſe with it; which is abſurd to think, and 'tis horrid even to conceive what conſequences would follow.

Secondly, It is evident alſo from Scripture, That the *Apoſtles* in their own time did confer upon others the *Apoſtolick Power and Authority*; which they had never done, if they had thought that the Office was confined to their own Perſons, and was to end with their reſpective Lives: They underſtood better the Mind of their Lord and Maſter, and the Importance of his Promiſe to be with them *to the end of the World.* Hence they rightly concluded, That they were to commit the Commiſſion given to them, unto the Hands of other faithful Perſons, who ſhould in like manner tranſmit it to others in a continual Succeſſion, *to the end of the World.* Accordingly their firſt Work was to chuſe one to ſucceed *Judas*; and by the Direction of God, *Matthias* is received into the number of the Apoſtles: So when *James*, the Brother of *John*, is killed by *Herod*, another of that Name was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; to whom as ſuch, St. *Peter* notifies his miraculous Deliverance. He who preſided in the Council at *Jeruſalem.* Acts 12. 17. Acts 15. Acts 21. 18. He to whom St. *Paul* made his Addreſs when he came thither: and he of whom he ſpeaks in the 19th Verſe of the firſt Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, whom he calls an *Apoſtle*, and the *Lord's Brother*: This *James* ſome will have to be another, than *James*, commonly called *the Leſs*, one of the firſt Twelve Apoſtles; that he was one of the *Seventy*, commonly called *James the Juſt*, advanced to the *Apoſtolate;* but however this be, certain it is, That *Paul* and *Barnabas*

Barnabas were received into the *Apoſtolick Office*, *Paul* immediately called thereunto by Chriſt at his Converſion. Acts 26. 16. But *Barnabas* in the ordinary manner, when he received that new Name from the Apoſtles, which ſignifies ***Son of Conſolation***. Acts 4. 36, 37. Both of them owned afterwards by the Apoſtles, *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, as their Fellow Apoſtles; and in Teſtimony thereof, they gave them the Right hand of Fellowſhip, and a particular Commiſſion to the *Gentiles*. Galat. 2. 9.

Beſides theſe we read of others rais'd from among the Ordinary Paſtors to the Apoſtolical or Epiſcopal Order; and endued with a Power and Authority over Churches, and their Paſtors and Presbyters; (under what Deſignation I ſhall not diſpute, inaſmuch as the thing is evidently Matter of Fact) for after this manner, *Paul* actually gave to ***Timothy*** ſuch an *Epiſcopal Power* over the Church of *Epheſus*, and the Presbyters and Paſtors thereof; by vertue of which Commiſſion, he is Authorized and Inſtructed in all the Exerciſe of the *Epiſcopal Power*. To Command and Charge them, (the Paſtors) that they Preach ſound Doctrine, 1 Tim. 1. 3. Chap. 2 : To preſcribe Rules for the Publick Worſhip, particularly, that Prayers be offered up for all in Authority: To examine and judge Perſons duly qualified for the Sacred Offices of the Goſpel, and *to give Impoſitions of Hands to*, or Ordain none but ſuch as are found duly qualified, Chap. 3. And 5. 22: To guard diligently againſt falſe Doctrines and ſeducing Spirits, and put the Brethren in mind, and command them that they give not heed to ſuch Doctrines and Seducers: To Judge, Correct and Cenſure Offenders even Presbyters, after due Examination and Conviction,

viction, Chap. 4. Ch. 5. 19. 20: To encourage and promote to higher Degrees ſuch Deacons or Presbyters as were faithful and diligent, Chap. 3. 13. And 5. 17: And, in a Word, he is inſtructed how in all things to behave himſelf, as a good Ruler and Governour in the Church committed to his Care and Inſpection; and that with theſe very remarkably ſolemn Obteſtations, Chap. 5. 22. Chap. 6. 13, 14. Ver. 20: *I charge thee before God, that thou obſerve theſe things without partiality or preferring one before another. I give thee charge in the ſight of God and of Jeſus Chriſt, that thou keep this Commandment. O* Timothy, *keep that which is committed to thy Truſt.* The like Power and Authority is conferred on *Titus* over the Churches in *Crete.* Titus 4. 5. Ver. 9, 10, 11. *That he ſhould ſet in Order the things that were wanting, and ordain Elders or* Presbyters *in every City*: And, that he ſhould *ſtop the Mouths of the unruly who taught things they ought not:* And that *he ſhould rebuke them ſharply that they may be ſound in the Faith:* And that if any after due Admonitions, ſhould continue obſtinate, he ſhould cenſure him with Depoſition and Excommunication. Chap. 3. 10.

Theſe are ſuch evident Proofs of an *Apoſtolical* or *Epiſcopal Power* conferred upon one *Paſtor* over other *Paſtors* and *Teachers*, as ought in Reaſon to ſatisfie all Men who are not immediately prejudiced againſt the *Epiſcopal Order.* I will not contend, but that in the *Exerciſe of this Power*, they may have taken the Advice and Concurrence of the Faithful *Paſtors* in theſe Churches, and concerted Affairs with them: and not done things in an Arbitrary and deſpotick manner, as *Calvin* obſerves: Yet he allows they had ſuch a *Preſi-*

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dency over the *Paſtors*, as the *Roman Conſul* had in the *Senate*, and more I plead not for. Calvin's Inſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 3. Sect. 15.

If it be ſaid, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted only as *Paul*'s Delegates, it weakens not the Argument, but rather corroborates it, for it ſtill holds that there was in the *Apoſtles*, a *Superior Power and Office*, above that of *Presbyters* which might be conferred upon and committed to another, whether by Delegation, or by Inveſtiture and Ordination of the Perſon into the Office, to which that *Power* and *Authority* belonged, comes all to one. It is to as little purpoſe to ſay, that *Timothy* and *Titus* exerciſed this Power and Authority over the Paſtors of *Epheſus* and *Crete*, as *Evangeliſts*: for 1. If the *Power* was really *Apoſtolical* and *Epiſcopal*, 'tis all one under whatever deſignation they exerciſed it; But *2dly*, 'Tis altogether groundleſs; for we find no ſuch Office of an *Evangeliſt* inſtituted, diſtinct from that of *Apoſtle*, *Presbyter*, or *Deacon*, but that it was a common deſignation to all who were the firſt Planters of the Goſpel among *Jews*, or *Heathens*, which cannot hold in the preſent caſe, for their Commiſſion is not only to the unconverted Heathens at *Epheſus* or *Crete*, but to the Churches already ſettled, and Paſtors inſtituted, in the actual Exerciſe of their Miniſtry in theſe places over whom they are charged to exerciſe this *Epiſcopal Authority*, as they will anſwer to *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Supreme *Lord* of his *Church*.

And what hath been hitherto obſerved, makes it to me, very evident, and I think may make it to any other unprejudic'd Perſon at leaſt highly probable, That the *Angels* of the *Seven Churches* of the leſſer *Aſia*, were Perſons of the *Apoſtolical*

Apoſtolical and *Epiſcopal* Order: For ſince there was ſuch an Office of *Apoſtles* and *Biſhops* inſtituted by Chriſt in his Church, whoſe Office was to Superintend Churches and the Paſtors thereof, and by their Authority to ſettle good Order, to prevent and correct Abuſes and Corruptions in *Paſtors* and *People:* Who elſe could theſe *Angels* be, but Officers of this higher Order? Who therefore are accountable for, and charged Particularly with, any Diſorder or Corruption tolerated in their reſpective Churches: And commended for ſuppreſſing and correcting theſe Diſorders, and Purging their Churches of Heretical Teachers.

And, Finally, we cannot entertain the leaſt Doubt of it in our Minds, but that the *Holy Apoſtles*, to whom our Lord gave ſpecial Commiſſion and Power, to Plant and Settle, and Govern his Church in his Name, would be moſt faithful and exact, in ſettling that Order, and Inſtituting theſe Offices, in all fully conſtituted Churches, which their Lord had appointed; and would be careful to leave the Church at their Death, under the ſame Order and Government, furniſhed with the ſame Offices and Miniſters which Chriſt himſelf her Lord, had inſtituted and appointed for her Edification.

Neither can it be conceiv'd, that any Chriſtian Church could look on herſelf as rightly Conſtituted, if any of theſe ſacred Offices inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles had been wanting.

And now, having plainly from unconteſtible Matters of Fact, Recorded in the New Teſtament, repreſented the *Order* and *Government*, the different Offices and Powers inſtituted by *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, in the firſt modeling of the Chriſtian Church; I might add for Confirmation of all that

that has been hitherto alleg'd, that all the Records we have of the *Ancient* and *Primitive Church* do harmoniouſly atteſt, That this *Order*, and theſe *Offices* inſtituted by Chriſt, were inviolably preſerved for many Ages; and ſo poſitive are they, as to that *prime Office* of *Apoſtles* and *Biſhops*, that they give us particular Catalogues of the Biſhops who ſucceeded the Apoſtles, in governing the moſt famous and principal Churches in the World: But to inſiſt on this, would force me beyond the Bounds within which I propos'd to contain my ſelf in my firſt Entrance upon this Subject.

I ſhall therefore only give the Teſtimony of *Calvin* in this Matter, becauſe perhaps his Authority may go further with ſome, than that of the Ancients: You will find it in the 1ſt and 4th Sections of the 4th Chapter of his Inſtitutions, where treating of the State of the Church, and the Form of its Government before the Papacy, he ſays to this purpoſe: 'It will be uſeful in this Matter, to know and conſider the 'Form of the Ancient Church, which will repreſent before our 'Eyes, a certain Image of the Divine Inſtitution: Although 'the Biſhops of thoſe Times, framed many *Canons*, by which 'they ſeem to ſtrain Things beyond what is expreſſed in Holy 'Writ; yet with that Caution did they frame all their Order 'and Government, according to the only Rule of God's Word, 'that you may eaſily ſee they had almoſt nothing in this 'Matter diſagreeable to the Word of God. Yea, though 'ſomething might be wanting in their Order, yet, becauſe 'with a ſincere Study they endeavour'd to preſerve God's 'Inſtitution, and erred not much from it, it will be very 'profitable, briefly to recount what kind of Cuſtom they had. 'As we have ſhown, there is a threefold Miniſtry commended

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'to us in Scripture; So whatever Miniſters the ancient 'Church had, it diſtinguiſhed them into three Orders, *Biſhops*, '*Presbyters*, and *Deacons*.

And § 4. 'That every Province had among their *Biſhops* 'one who was an *Arch-biſhop*, and that in the Council of '*Nice*, Patriarchs were appointed, who in Order and Dignity 'might be ſuperior to *Arch-biſhops;* This was for Preſerva-'tion of Diſcipline, that if any thing happened in any Church 'which could not well be determined by a few, it might be 'referred to a *Provincial Synod*, and if the Affair were of 'ſuch Importance that it required a greater Diſcuſſion, Ap-'plication was made to the *Patriarch* with the Synods, from 'whom there was no Appeal but to a *General Council:* The 'Government thus conſtituted, ſome did call an *Hierarchy*, a 'Name improper (as ſeems to me) ſurely not uſed in Scrip-'ture; for the Holy Spirit would provide, that in the Matter 'of Church-Government, None might Dream of a Princi-'pality or Dominion; but if laying aſide the Name, we view 'the Thing it ſelf, we will find that the ancient Biſhops had 'no mind to frame any other Form of Church-Government, 'than what was preſcribed by God in his Word. *Thus far* Calvin.

And I would conclude with theſe Words, but that I am obliged, for further clearing what hath been hitherto obſerved, to conſider ſome Paſſages of Scripture that are commonly objected againſt what I have advanc'd.

And, *Firſt*, 'tis alleg'd, that the names of *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* are promiſcuouſly uſed in Scripture, and therefore they ſignifie but one and the ſame Office: It is Anſwered by ſome, That this is a great Miſtake: And that wherever *Biſhops*

Biſhops are named, we are to underſtand *Biſhops* properly ſo called, and not *Presbyters*, which they make appear from the Texts brought in favour of the Community of Names; for Inſtance, *Acts* 20. Verſes 18. 27, 28. They ſay, *Paul* called both *Biſhops* and *Presbyters* unto him, and that the Clergy of all the Cities thereabout were there; for *Paul*, during his three Years abode in *Aſia*, had Converſed with the *Biſhops* and *Presbyters* of other Places, than of *Epheſus*, and his appealing to their Knowledge, proves that they were preſent, ſo that what he ſays, *ver.* 28. was principally directed to the *Biſhops*, and ſecondarily and by way of Reflection to the *Presbyters.* To *Titus* 1. Ver. 5, 6, 7. it is anſwer'd, That what is there to be found, only proves that he ſhould Advance the *Presbyters* under him, and Ordain *Biſhops*, and Diſpoſe of them unto Cities, fixing them to certain Cures; ſo it follows, *for a Biſhop muſt be blameleſs*, &c. There were Presbyters before at *Crete*, and *Titus* was to ordain ſome of them *Biſhops:* So 1 Tim. 3. is to be underſtood of Biſhops *properly ſo called*, that were to be ordained to preſide over other Cities, as *Timothy* did over *Epheſus*. *Phil.* 1. 1. may be underſtood of the Biſhops of *Philippi*, and other neighbouring Cities, who were wont to convene and meet together; or it may mean that *Paul*, and the *Biſhops* and *Deacons* that were with him, Salute the Saints at *Philippi.* This Anſwer however not obvious to every one, yet clearly ſhews how uncertain that alledged Identity of Names is.

But though we ſhould not look upon this Anſwer as abſolutely concluſive, but grant an Identity of Names; yet it will not follow, that there was an Identity of Offices; for Names are common in Scripture, where Offices are acknowledged

edged to be diſtinct. Thus *Hebrews* the 3d and the 1ſt, Chriſt is called an *Apoſtle*; and 1 *Pet.* 2. 25. he is called a *Biſhop*; *Peter* and *John* call themſelves *Presbyters;* 1 Pet. 5. 1. John Ep. 2. 3. 1 Cor. 3. 5. 2 Cor. 3. 6. Col. 4. 7, 17. and the *Apoſtles* and *Paſtors* are frequently called *Deacons.* 1 Theſ. 3. 2. Now it cannot from thence be argued, that the *Apoſtles* and *Presbyters* Office was one and the ſame with the *Deacon:* The Name of the *Genus* is uſually given to the *Species:* the Superior Office including the Inferior, all *Apoſtles* were *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, though not *vice verſa:* Therefore the Identity of Office is not to be argued from the Identity of Names: for according to the Presbyterians themſelves, the Name *Presbyter* is common to the Paſtor, and Ruling Elder, yet the Offices are vaſtly diſtinct.

But, *Secondly*, ſeveral Texts are adduced, in which 'tis alledged, That *Parity* among Church-Offices is *peremtorily* commanded; ſuch as Matth. 20. 26. *The Lords of the Gentiles*, &c. and the parallel places, *Luke* 9. 47, 48. *Luke* 22. 24. 1 *Pet.* 5. 3. To which 'tis anſwered in general, That theſe Scriptures cannot by any juſt Rules of Interpretation be underſtood as condemning a Diſparity among Goſpel Miniſters, nor a Superiority of one Order above another; nor a more eminent Power and Authority in ſome to Govern the Church above others; nor all Juriſdiction of one Goſpel Office above others, but only that, which is exerciſed with imperious Bitterneſs and Domination; nor are they interpreted to any ſuch purpoſe by any Judicious Perſon of either Perſwaſion: So that it is not fair, honeſt, or ingenuous Dealing, in any to make uſe of theſe Texts, as condemning *Imparity* among Goſpel Officers, in order to amuſe the *Populace* and

and Simpler Sort, who are oft-times ſoon taken with the Sound of Words, without conſidering the true Senſe and Importance of them.

But to anſwer this Objection more particularly, 1*ſt*, That only is forbidden Goſpel-miniſters, which was practiſed by *the Lords of the Gentiles*, that is, Secular Dominion and Authority; and it was certain, it was this that the Diſciples had in their View, when they contended who ſhould be greateſt; for they were mightily poſſeſſed with the *Jewiſh* Opinion, that Chriſt's Kingdom was to be a Temporal Kingdom; and it is this miſtake that Chriſt removes.

2*dly*, That Dominion which the Lords of the *Gentiles* exerciſed, was not one over another, but over their Subjects, ſo that if it take away all Power of one above another, it will deſtroy the Power of Miniſters over their Flocks: Now, though *Lording over God's Heritage* is expreſly diſcharged; yet the *Paſtors Power and Authority over them*, is expreſly aſſerted, where they are called Rulers, and the People commanded to obey them: 1 Pet. 5. 3. Heb. 13. 7. 17. It would alſo deſtroy the Power of Synods and Presbyters, where Miniſters rule over Miniſters.

3*dly*, There are in St. *Luke*, ſome Expreſſions, which plainly imply a Superiority or Eminency of Power, in ſome over others, when it is ſaid, *He that is greateſt among you:* And when Chriſt propoſes his own Example in what he there enjoyns them, ſaying, *I am among you as one that miniſtreth*; yet none will doubt he was their Lord and Superior, ſo that the command of Miniſtring takes not away the Superiority and Power.

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4*thly*, It cannot be thought that our Saviour condemned a Diſparity among Goſpel Miniſters, when it is ſo evident that he actually inſtituted Miniſters of Different *Offices* and *Degrees*, firſt *Apoſtles*, then *Seventy* others of a Second Order; and his Apoſtles inſtituted a Third Order of *Deacons*, who 'tis certain was Inferior to *Presbyters*, as theſe were to the *Apoſtles*.

5*thly*, If our Lord had deſigned to forbid all *Diſparity* or *Subordination* among the Miniſters of the Goſpel; 'tis like, he would rather have ſtated the Oppoſition between them and the Miniſters of Religion under the *Moſaick* Diſpenſation, and not the Lords of the *Gentiles*.

But *Thirdly*, whereas that Paſſage in the 1ſt of *Timothy*, the 4th Chapter, and 14th Verſe, is brought to prove, That Presbyters have a Right or Power to ordain Presbyters, and other Goſpel Miniſters: It is anſwered, That place proves no ſuch Thing. For S. *Jerome*, a zealous Aſſerter of the Rights of Presbyters, acknowledges that Ordination belongs, if not *ſolely*, yet *chiefly* to Biſhops. And both Ancients and Modern, and among theſe, *Calvin*, underſtand Presbyter in the aforeſaid Place, not of the *Conſeſſus* or *Collegium Presbyterorum*, the Aſſembly or Conſiſtory of Presbyters; but of the *Munus* or *Office it ſelf*, or the Ordination of the Office of a Presbyter; ſo that the Laying on of the Hands of the Presbyter ſignifies no more than when he was ordained a Presbyter; as if St. *Paul* had ſaid, Take heed that the Grace conferred on thee, when I ordained thee a Presbyter, be not in vain: Thus *Calvin* interprets that place; and what confirms this Gloſs, is the *Kariſma*, or *Gift* ſpoken of, ſeems to have reſpect to theſe extraordinary Gifts conferred by the

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Laying on of the Hands of the Apoſtles in the Ordination of Paſtors, to which the Aſſiſtance and Concurrence of others was not neceſſary. Calv. Inſtit. Lib. 4. Cap. Sect. 16. ad finem.

But granting that *Presbytery* is to be underſtood of the meeting of Presbyters, yet it will not prove that they had full Power and Authority to Ordain; for here, at the moſt they did but concur and aſſiſt in the Ordination of *Timothy*, as is evident from 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. where the Apoſtle calling him to ſtir up that Gift, ſays, that it was conferred on him ***by laying on of Hands.*** Certain it is, that Apoſtles did Ordain without the Concurrence of Presbyters; but I read not that ever Presbyters ordain'd without an Apoſtle or Biſhop; and in an Action of that Nature and Importance, it may at leaſt be a juſt ground of Doubt and Scruple, that there is no Warrant or Precedent to be found for it in Scripture, without which I know not how any can be fully perſwaded in his own mind. How far an abſolute neceſſity may alter the caſe according to the common Axiom, ***That many things may be lawful for a Senate when they have no King, that are not when there is one,*** I ſhall not determine.

CONCLUSION.

AND now having finiſhed what I deſign'd at preſent, that is, having demonſtrated from the Scripture's Account of theſe Matters, what was at firſt ſettled in it, and having thence deduc'd what is at preſent the true Form of Government in the Church of Chriſt: I ſhall only add, by way of *Concluſion*, a ſhort Expoſtulation, in the Spirit of Meekneſs and Love; and calmly enquire, What is the Ground of all that Noiſe and Clamour, Hatred and Prejudice, raiſed againſt them who are of the Principles, as to the Point of Church Government, which are here aſſerted?

'Tis evident we own Chriſt Jeſus the Lord, Head, King, and Lawgiver to his Church, who hath Power and Authority to ſettle and eſtabliſh Order and Government therein, and to inſtitute and appoint what Offices, and in what manner he pleaſes, in his Spiritual Kingdom.

We are fully perſwaded, that He, who is of Infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs, hath diſpoſed all Affairs relating to the Government of his Church, in the moſt excellent method, in the way and manner that tends moſt for the Peace and Unity, Order and Security, Edification and Salvation of his Church and People.

We find, plainly and expreſly, Three diſtinct Offices inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; one Prime and Chief, the *Twelve Apoſtles*; and two Subordinate, the *Seventy Diſciples*, and Seven *Deacons:* Theſe Three Orders of Goſpel-Miniſters

ters are unqueſtionably of *Divine Inſtitution* and Appointment. And we cannot find in all the *New Teſtament*, that any of them was *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*; no, not the leaſt Inſinuation to move us to think, that after a ſhort time any of them was to ceaſe. On the contrary, we have the ſame Evidence for the perpetual Duration, that we have for their firſt Inſtitution.

And now let any impartially Judge, who do moſt truly aſſert Chriſt's Kingly Office, and the Prerogatives of his Crown? They who plead for his Inſtitution, and cloſely adhere thereunto, and to the Offices which he hath appointed in his Church; or they, who make bold with his Inſtitution; to abrogate the *prime Office* he inſtituted, as how long ſince antiquated and out of uſe; and that only upon a falſe and groundleſs Suppoſition, that it was *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*. The falſeneſs of which I have already ſhewed under my Third Head, and ſhall now repreſent briefly of what a dangerous conſequence it is to Religion, to alledge that any of the Offices inſtituted by Chriſt, were *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*, appointed only to ſerve the *Infancy* and *Firſt Conſtitution* of the Church, but not to continue in it when once conſtituted. This makes the Rule and Standard of our Religion uncertain and unfixed, and opens a Gap to all Errors: At this rate, and upon the ſame pretence, *Quakers*, and others, caſt off the Goſpel Inſtitutions, of *Holy Orders*, *Baptiſm* and *the Lords Supper*, &c. for, ſay they, theſe were only *Temporary Ordinances*; but now all the *Lord's People are Holy*, they are all Prophets, the Manifeſtation of the Spirit, which is given unto all, hath outdated all theſe *Rudimentary Elements*.

If

If any, thus principled, could but gain ſuch an aſcendant over the *Populace*, as to inſpire them with this Notion, and thereby influence them as much againſt the Order of *Presbyters*, as they have been againſt that of *Biſhops*; What ſhould then become of Order in the Church, or any Goſpel Ordinance? God forbid! That any ſuch wild Caprice ſhould ever ſeize on Chriſtian People; but I make the Suppoſition to repreſent thereby the dangerous Conſequence of that Principle, *That ſome of Chriſt's Inſtitutions were but Temporary:* For it may be improved as much, and on as good ground, againſt the Office of a *Presbyter*, yea, againſt the poſitive Inſtructions of the Goſpel, as againſt the Office of a *Biſhop*; and there may come ſuch an unhappy Juncture, when one as well as another, and all as well as one, may thus come to be thought unneceſſary. For alas, if the Truth may be told, 'tis greatly to be feared, that not only the Office of *Biſhops*, but of all *Paſtors*, yea, all the *Sacred Inſtitutions of Chriſt*, are become intolerable unto too many *Carnal Libertines*, who want but a favourable Opportunity to vent their minds, and ſay, *Come, let us break their Bonds aſunder, and caſt away their Cords* from us.

How will they be able to anſwer God, or their own Conſciences for it? Who have ſolemnly combined together to ruin and overthrow that Order, ſettled by Chriſt in his Church, and have left no Stone unturned, in their reſtleſs Endeavours, to bring the Sacred Offices of *Biſhops*, and *Paſtors* Miniſtring under their Inſpection and Government, into perpetual Contempts; and having induſtriouſly ſet themſelves to oppoſe and fruſtrate all their Goſpel Adminiſtrations; and not only to alienate the Minds of poor ſimple People

People from their *Lawful Governours* and *Paſtors*, but with Noiſe and Clamour, and bitter Invectives, to inſpire them with the higheſt Rage and Fury to commit the moſt horrid Outrages on their Sacred Perſons, as good Service done to God; and all upon no other Account, but their firm adherence unto the Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt.

Father forgive them, they know not what they do: Lord lay not this Sin to their charge, but mercifully open their eyes, that they may ſee the evil of their ways, and may be converted to the Way of Truth and Godlineſs, Peace and Charity, Unity and Order, and Eternally Saved: Through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Now unto GOD the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, be Glory Everlaſting. *Amen.*

F I N I S.

A

DISCOURSE

Shewing *Who* is a *true Paſtor* of the CHURCH of CHRIST.[114]

I AM fully ſatisfy'd, that the good and well-meaning People, for whoſe Sake this ſhort and plain Diſcourſe is now publiſhed, are thoroughly convinced of the great Neceſſity and Advantage of making Uſe of a *Spiritual Guide*; and that they are always ready to conſult Him, and to commit the Care of their Souls to him.

BUT

[114] In the order of time, this "Diſcourſe" was preceded by the publication of a *Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy*, but as the laſt mentioned was only a compilation, it is not included in this collection. It is acceſſible in all the older libraries. For the publication of the *Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy*, and Leſlie's *Short and Eaſy Method with the Deiſts*, Mr. Checkley was proſecuted in the courts of Maſſachuſetts Bay for a libel. All the paſſages cited as libellous in the preſentment may be found at pages 61 to 63 in this volume.

For ſome account of this "*Diſcourſe ſheweing who is a true Paſtor of the Church of Chriſt*," *vide antea*, pp. 59–60. We may here add that 500 copies were ſent into Rhode Iſland.

BUT then they may juſtly aſk, —— WHO, WHERE is He? —— *Since there are ſo many* falſe Teachers *gone out into the World, how ſhall I know* WHICH *is a* true One? Among ſo many different Pretenders to the Miniſtry, how ſhall I find out, WHICH *are* indeed *the Miniſters of Chriſt? Are all Apoſtles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers?* 1 Cor. xii. 29. Saint *Paul* plainly determins, that they are not ſo; as alſo, Chriſt himſelf ſaith to the Angel of the Church of *Epheſus*, *Thou haſt tried them, which ſay they are Apoſtles, and are not, and haſt found them Lyars.* Rev. ii. 2 And if in the Days of Saint *John* the Apoſtle, there were falſe Deceivers, who ſaid that they were Miniſters of Chriſt, and were not, much more are there ſuch in our Days. How then ſhall I be able to know and find them out?

THIS indeed is a Queſtion of grand Importance; for Chriſt, who hath appointed an Order of Men to teach his People, *hath forbidden them to heap to themſelves Teachers*; *warned us againſt thoſe who come in Sheep's Cloathing, and yet are ravenous Wolves*; and aſſures us, *that if the blind lead the blind, they ſhall both fall into the Ditch.* It is to *Them only* who derive their Authority from Him, through the Hands of the Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors; and are his commiſſioned Miniſters, that He hath promiſed *his Preſence and Aſſiſtance to the End of the World.* So that if he confirms the Act, and bleſſes the Miniſtry of any others, it is more than He hath promiſed in his holy Word.

BUT tho' this Queſtion is of ſuch weighty Concern, yet the ſolving of it has not ſuch Difficulty in it, but that every One might of himſelf judge what is Right, if without Partiality, and without Hypocriſie, he wou'd conſider the following

lowing Particulars, and the Texts of Scripture annexed to them.

1. THAT none ought to act as Miniſters of Chriſt in his Church, but they who have received a Commiſſion from him. —— *And Jeſus came and ſpake unto them, ſaying, all Power is given unto Me in Heaven and in Earth. Go ye therefore and teach all Nations,* —— *and lo, I am with you alway even unto the End of the World.* Matth. 28. 18, 19, 20. *And no Man taketh this Honour unto himſelf, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* Heb. v. 4. *And how ſhall they hear without a Preacher? And how ſhall they preach except they be ſent?* Rom. x. 14, 15.

2. THAT none can be ſaid to receive a divine Commiſſion from Him, but Thoſe who are either *mediately* or *immediately* called and appointed by him. *Rom.* x. 15. *Heb.* v. 4. 5. *Acts* xiv. 23. *Rev.* ii. 2.

3. THAT they who pretend to an immediate Call, ought, as the Apoſtles did, to prove the Truth of their Miſſion, *by working of Miracles*; 'till which Time no Regard is due to their Pretences. *Mark* xvi. 20. *Matth.* vii. 15 and ix. 6. 30, 31. 1 *John* iv. 1.

4. THAT therefore the only ſtanding regular Way *of having this Honour*, is the deriving of it *mediately* thro' the Hands of others, from Chriſt himſelf.

5. THAT Chriſt himſelf, whilſt on Earth, had two Orders of Men under Him, the twelve Apoſtles, and the Seventy; gave the Power of ſending, or ordaining others, to the Apoſtles; and to them only, and thoſe that ſucceed them, *did He give the Promiſe of his Preſence and Aſſiſtance unto the End of the World. Luke* ix. 1. vi. 13. x. 1 and xxii. 29, 30.

29, 30. *John* xx. 21. *Matth.* xxviii. 16. 20. *Acts* xxii. 17. xv. 13 and xxi. 18. *Gal.* ii. 9.

6. THAT after Chriſt's Aſcenſion into Heaven, there were ſtill *three diſtinct Orders* ſet apart to the Miniſtry, *viz. Deacons*, *Presbyters*, or *Elders*; and a ſtill higher Order, which were ſuperiour to, and had Authority over both theſe, ſuch were, beſides the Apoſtles, *Timothy*, *Titus*, St *James*, Sur-named the Juſt, and the *Angels of the Seven Churches.* 1 *Tim.* v. 19. 22. *Tit.* i. 5. *Rev.* ii. 2.

7. THAT therefore, in the Beginning of the Chriſtian Church, there was not a *Parity*, but *Inequality*, or *Prelacy* in the Miniſters of it.

8. THAT farther from the holy Scriptures it is evident, That the Power of Ordination was lodged in thoſe of the higheſt Order, *Timothy* and *Titus*, and in them *alone* without any others being mentioned with them. 1 *Tim.* v. 22. *Tit.* i. 5.

9. THAT we have no Warrant from Scripture to conclude, that this Power was given by the Apoſtles to thoſe of the ſecond Order, now called Presbyters; the chief Text upon which this Warrant is ſuppoſed to be grounded, being that of the Apoſtle to *Timothy*, *Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given Thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery.*

AND as Mr. *Roberts* judiciouſly obſerves, to make this Place any Thing to the Purpoſe, theſe three Things at leaſt muſt be proved. 1. That by Presbytery is here meant a Company of Perſons. 2. That theſe Perſons were all meer Presbyters. 3. That none but ſuch gave *Timothy* his Ordination. The *firſt* of which is uncertain, the *ſecond* improbable; and the *third* abſolutely falſe.

AND

AND here I cannot but take Notice of the Ignorance or Diſingenuity (not to call it a *pius Fraud*) of ſome Gentlemen in *New England*, in their Diſcourſe HAD (as they elegantly term it) of Presbyterial Ordination.[115] The Deſign of the Gentlemen is to prove from Scripture, that meer Presbyters had the Power of Ordination. And thus they go to work. Page 11. '*We can't but apprehend their* [*the 'Presbyters*] *Power of Ordination from Scripture Precedents.* 'I ſhall name two famous Inſtances. *Paul* and *Barnabas* 'were ſet apart by the Hands of ordinary Elders. *Acts* xiii. '1, 2, 3. This is falſe. They were not *ordinary Elders*, for they were Prophets and Teachers *immediately commanded by God* to ſend theſe Men on that particular Errand, as is plain by the Text. Beſides, St. *Paul* ſays of Himſelf, that He was *an Apoſtle*, (*not of Men, neither by Man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father*, — *Gal.* i. 1. And moreover, it appears by the Text to be an extraordinary Act, for it is ſaid to be done by the Holy Ghoſt. *Acts* xiii. 1, 2, 3.

BUT

[115] The "*Diſcourſe had of Presbyterial Ordination*" was by the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton. He was miniſter of the Old South Church, Boſton, from 1700 till his death in 1717. He was born in Boſton in 1671. Graduated at Harvard College in 1691. The Sermon referred to above was delivered on the occaſion of the ordination of the Rev. Joſeph Sewall, D.D., September 16, 1713. It was publiſhed in connection with the proceedings at the ordination of the Rev. Thomas Prince as miniſter of the Old South Church, October 1, 1718.

The following is the title of this diſcourſe: —

"A DISCOURSE HAD By the late Reverend and learned MR EBENEZER PEMBERTON Previous to the ORDINATION of the Reverend Mr *Joſeph Sewall*, at BOSTON, *September* 16, 1713. Affirming and proving the *Validity* of *Presbyterial* ORDINATION. BOSTON: Printed by J. FRANKLIN for S. GERRISH and Sold at his Shop near the Old Meeting-Houſe. 1718."

The Rev. Mr. Pemberton was reputed an able, eloquent, and learned preacher. He publiſhed ſeveral diſcourſes, and a volume of his ſermons was iſſued in 1727.

BUT to let the Gentlemen go on. 'So was *Timothy* 'ordained by the Impoſition of the Hands of the Presbytery: '1 *Tim.* iv. 14. And what was then valid is now. —— Upon 'the whole, if Scripture be the Rule then we can't but ſafely 'conclude for the Right of Presbyters, or ordinary Goſpel 'Miniſters, to ordain others.

THUS they. Now, before I anſwer it, I deſire the Reader to take Notice, that they call it a *famous Inſtance*, which implys thus much, that they thought it a very good One for the Proof of the Validity of *Presbyterial Ordination*; and indeed, it is the chief Text upon which the Diſſenters build their unhappy Miſtakes. But theſe Gentlemen might have been better inform'd by their great Maſter *John Calvin*, whoſe Opinion I ſuppoſe will have ſome Weight with them. Theſe are his Words upon the Place. '*Paul* himſelf elſe-'where declares that he (without any others) laid Hands on '*Timothy:* I admoniſh Thee (ſays He) that thou ſtir up the 'Gift that is in thee, by the laying on of MY HANDS; for 'what is ſaid in the other Epiſtle of the laying on the Hands 'of the *Presbytery*, I don't take it as if *Paul* ſpake of the 'College of *Presbyters*, but by that Name I underſtand the 'Ordination it ſelf: As if he ſhould ſay, ſee that the Grace 'which thou didſt receive by the laying on of MY HANDS 'when I made thee a *Presbyter* be not in vain: *Calv. Inſtitut.* 'L. 4. C. 3. Thus Mr. *Calvin.*

THE Summ of the Diſpute betwixt theſe Gentlemen and us on this Head is this. We affirm (and are ſure) that *Timothy* was not ordain'd by *ordinary Goſpel Miniſters* inferiour to the Apoſtles. They affirm, that *ordinary Goſpel Miniſters* inferiour to the Apoſtles ordain'd *Timothy*. And they pro-

duce

duce this famous Inſtance (as they call it) to prove their Aſſertion. Now, nothing is more certain than this; that it is the current Opinion of great Numbers of good Divines, both antient and modern, that by *Presbytery* is not meant a Number of Men, but the Office; and in particular Mr. *Calvin*, you ſee, has given it up.

BUT nothing is (or can be) more plain than the Scripture it ſelf, therefore to the Law and to the Teſtimony. Let it be decided by Scripture. There Saint *Paul* expreſly ſays to *Timothy*. 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. *Wherefore I put thee in Remembrance, that thou ſtir up the Gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of* MY HANDS. Thus the Scripture. Now if Saint *Paul* was an *ordinary Goſpel Miniſter* inferiour to the Apoſtles, then thoſe Gentlemen, for once, are in the right.

BUT this Text, I fear, was induſtriouſly omitted, the Beams of Light darting from it, and ſo directly pointing at their unhappy Error, they could not bear the Sight of it, but hid it under a Buſhel. But let them take care, for it is a ſtanding Maxim, That He is as much a falſe Witneſs who keeps back any Part of the Evidence, as He who produces *that* for Evidence which is not Truth.

10. THEREFORE, that ſince it do's not appear, *that the Commiſſion to ordain*, which the Apoſtles receiv'd from our bleſſed Saviour, was ever granted by them to thoſe who are now called *Presbyters*, they cannot juſtly lay claim *to the Power of Ordination:* Every Commiſſion neceſſarily ſuppoſing a Conveyance, and being excluſive of all *Perſons*, except *thoſe* to whom it is given.

11. AND laſtly, that they who had *the Power of Ordi-*

nation

nation lodged in their Hands by the Apoſtles, had many ***Presbyters***, and many Congregations under their Juriſdiction, as may be ſeen by theſe Texts of Scripture. *Tit.* i. 5. 1. *Tim.* i. 3. and v. 19. 23. *Acts* xix. 10. and xx. 17, compared with *Rev.* ii. 1. 2.

So far we may conclude from the holy Scriptures themſelves; and from primitive Antiquity it is farther evident.

1. THAT immediately after the Death of St. *John*, theſe three Orders, *Biſhops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, were eſtabliſhed in every Church; and the Power of *Biſhops* over *Presbyters* univerſally owned and acknowledged to be of divine Right. See the Epiſtle of St. *Ignatius* at the End of this Tract.[116]

2. THAT down from the Beginning of Chriſtianity, unto the Time of the Reformation, the Power of conferring Orders was ſuppoſed to be lodged, not in the Hands of *Presbyters*, but of *Biſhops*; nor can ſo much as one Inſtance be produced of *Presbyters* laying claim to this Power, and of its being allowed by the Church of Chriſt: For the Truth of this Propoſition, we have the ſame Evidence that we have for the Canonicalneſs of ſeveral Books of the new Teſtament, *the concurrent Teſtimony of the Church of Chriſt.*

3. THAT at the Time of the Reformation, this Power of our Church ſtill continued in, and was appropriated to thoſe of the higheſt Order.

4. THAT thoſe *Presbyters* who firſt broke off from the Communion

[116] In the original edition *The Epiſtle of St. Ignatius to the Trallians* was appended to the Diſcourſe, but it is omitted in this work, inaſmuch as it is acceſſible in the *Genuine Epiſtles of the Apoſtolic Fathers*, tranſlated by Dr. Wake, late learned and diſtinguiſhed Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Communion with their Biſhops, and firſt pretended to this *Authority of ordaining others*, did not receive it; only a Power to preach the Word, and adminiſter the Sacraments, according to the Rules of the Goſpel, and the Canons of the Church, and this in Subordination to their *Biſhops*; much leſs did they receive Authority to ordain others, in Oppoſition to THEM to whom they owed, and had ſworn Obedience.

5. THAT therefore, *ſince none can give that which he did not receive*, they amongſt us, who have received their Orders only from the Hands of *Presbyters*, have *no valid Ordination, no Authority*, to act in Chriſt's Name, as his *commiſſioned Miniſters*, and to be ſpiritual Guides of the People.

I ſhall only add farther under this Head, that tho' it was only a doubtful Caſe, *whether Presbyterian Ordination was valid, or not*; yet, ſince it is confeſſed on all Hands, that they of the National Church who are Epiſcopally ordained, are lawful Miniſters of Chriſt, it is the Chriſtian's Duty and Intereſt to obey and ſubmit to them, and to acknowledge them ONLY as their *Guides that watch for their Souls*; ſince in all doubtful Caſes the ſafeſt Side is to be choſen.

AND now, having ſaid thus much, I ſhall once more take Notice of thoſe *New England* Gentlemen before mentioned. But, before I animadvert upon them, I muſt confeſs I am at a loſs, and know not what Name to give to ſomething I find in their celebrated Performance; whether I ſhall call it *Ignorance* or *Sleight of Hand:* For I am perfectly amazed! that Gentlemen of ſuch Figure (as I have been informed they were) among the Diſſenters, that ſuch Rabbies of the Party

Party ſhou'd betray ſuch finiſh'd, ſuch conſummate Ignorance in Church Hiſtory; and if it muſt not be imputed to their Ignorance, I aſſure you, that my Aſtoniſhment is encreas'd, to think that Men, who call themſelves the Guides of Souls, ſhou'd be ſo daringly wicked, as to aſſert THAT for Truth, which they knew to be falſe, and in a Cauſe too where the Souls of Men were concerned.

THEY affirm, Page 7. 'That we have nothing in primi-'tive or later Antiquity but what may be reconciled hereto, '(that is to the Practice of *Presbyters* ordaining of *Presbyters*) 'and much to confirm this Practice.' And to ſhew you that this was not dropt from them thro' Inadvertency but by Deſign, They are at it again Page 11. where they aſſert very roundly that, 'We find much in Antiquity, primitive and 'later, that favours this Power of Presbyters, and nothing but 'what may be reconciled to it.

THESE Gentlemen were reſolv'd to do Buſineſs, they ſcorn'd to mince the Matter.

I confeſs ſeriouſly, that I never met with any Aſſertion more ſurprizing than this, nor more falſe. Surely theſe Gentlemen cou'd not think to impoſe upon all Mankind with their *Ignorance*, or their *Legerdemain*. But 'tis plain, their ſinking, dying Cauſe requires ſuch mean, ſuch little *Tricks* to ſupport it. They perceiv'd, that the People were reſolv'd for the future to ſee with their own Eyes, and were univerſally enclin'd to enquire into Antiquity, being deſirous to underſtand the State of the Primitive Church, and reſolving to pay Obedience to that Church which was moſt *Apoſtolick*.

THEREFORE they thought it neceſſary to aſſert, that we have much in Antiquity, primitive and later, that favours this

this Power of *Presbyters* ordaining of *Presbyters*, and nothing but what may be reconcil'd to it.

THAN which nothing is more Falſe. Here we will joyn Iſſue. And if theſe Gentlemen will produce any one Inſtance of a *Presbyter*'s ordaining a *Presbyter*, for the Space of 1500 Years after *Chriſt*, which was not condemn'd by the Catholick Church, I aſſure them, for my part, I'll give up the Cauſe. There are but two[117] Inſtances of ſuch Ordinations for 1500 Years after *Chriſt*, that of *Iſchyras* and *Colluthus*; one of which was not done upon a Principle that *Presbyters* have a Power to ordain; nor was it done in Oppoſition to the Biſhop, who was preſent, but being indiſpos'd, order'd a Prieſt to read the Words of Conſecration, the Biſhop laying on his Hands. But the primitive Church wou'd not ſuffer even this to paſs, but ſeverely condemn'd this as well as the other. And it was a principal part of the Hereſy of *Aerius*, his affirming, that there was no Difference between a *Biſhop* and a *Presbyter* by divine Right, and for which (among other Things) he was condemn'd for a Heretick by the Catholick Church of *Chriſt*.

Now, if theſe Things are true, (and I call upon theſe Gentlemen to diſprove them if they are not) you may ſee what

[117] In the "Errata," at the end of the book, we are directed to read as follows: —

There are but *few* inſtances of ſuch-like Ordinations for 1500 Years after Chriſt: That of *Iſchyras* ordained by *Colluthus*, and a Presbyter with two Deacons ordain'd (in part) by a Presbyter, on Account of the Indiſpoſition of the Biſhop of *Agabra*, are the two chief Inſtances in all Antiquity.

Now, the firſt of theſe was not done upon a Principle, that Presbyters have a Power to ordain, for *Colluthus* had falſely aſſum'd to himſelf the Name of a Biſhop; nor was the latter done in Oppoſition to the Biſhop, who was preſent, but having ſore Eyes order'd a Presbyter to read the Words of Conſecration, the Biſhop laying on his Hands.

what little Ground they had to aſſert, that they had much in Antiquity to confirm their Practice. Oh, to what deſpicable Arts are Men driven in defending a bad Cauſe!

BUT the other Part of this monſtrous Aſſertion is as much beyond this, as this is beyond all Modeſty, *viz.* That they have nothing in Antiquity but what may be reconcil'd to it, that is, to their Practice. What!——Nothing but what may be reconcil'd to it!——Why, Sirs! Were all the Biſhops of the Catholick Church for 1700 Years after *Chriſt*, no more than common *Presbyters?* What! Can all the Ordinations, the Thouſands, the Millions that have been perform'd in the Catholick Church, in all that ſpace of Time, by Biſhops, and upon *this Principle*, that Biſhops *alone* had the Power of Ordination; can all theſe too be reconciled to your Practice!

CERTAINLY theſe Gentlemen were out of their Senſes when theſe unaccountable Abſurdities were ſuffer'd to come abroad.

IN the ſecond Page of their Rhapſody, they aſſert, (nay, they ſay, it ſeems evident to a Demonſtration) the Neceſſity of an uninterrupted Succeſſion from the Apoſtles. They were obliged to do this from the Nature of the Thing; it being ſo plain that the meaneſt Capacity underſtands it. The ſhort Method has demonſtrated it. But notwithſtanding ten thouſand Demonſtrations, they found that it was their Intereſt to deny it; and accordingly knowing that they were not in the Succeſſion, at pag. 14, they tack about, and wiping their Mouths very demurely tell us, that they don't believe the Neceſſity of an uninterrupted Succeſſion from the *Apoſtles*.

THESE

THESE Men make a great Noiſe, and amuſe the People with the *great Names of —— our firſt Reformers--- the foreign Churches*, &c. — thereby intimating as if the foreign Churches approv'd of their Practice.

WHEREAS nothing is more plain, than that our Diſſenters have departed from *Calvin* as well as from *Luther*, in their Abhorrence of Epiſcopacy, from all the Chriſtian World, in all Ages; and particularly from all our late Reformers, both of one Sort and another.

Calvin wou'd have anathematized all of them, had he lived in our Days. He ſays there were none to be found in his Time, who oppoſed the Epiſcopal Hierarchy, but only the Papal. But ſays He, 'if they wou'd give us ſuch an Hie-'rarchy, in which the Biſhops ſhou'd ſo excell, as that they 'did not refuſe to be ſubject to Chriſt, and to depend upon 'Him as their *only* Head, and refer all to Him; then I will 'confeſs that they are worthy of all Anathemas, if any ſuch 'ſhall be found, who will not reverence it, and ſubmit them-'ſelves to it, with the utmoſt Obedience. Calvin de Neceſ-'ſitate Eccles. Reformand.

AND *Beza* ſuppoſes as poſitively as *Calvin* had done, that there were none who oppoſed the Epiſcopal Hierarchy, but only the Papal, or that oppoſed the Order of Biſhops; and condemns them as Madmen, if any ſuch cou'd be found. For thus ſays he,

'IF there be any (which you ſhall hardly perſuade me to 'believe) who reject the whole Order of Epiſcopacy; God 'forbid that any Man in his Wits, ſhou'd aſſent to the Mad-'neſs of ſuch Men. Beza. ad Tractat. de Miniſt. Ev. Grad. 'ab Hadrian. Sarav. Belga. Edit. C. 1.

AND

AND particularly as to the Church of *England*, and her Hierarchy of Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, He ſays, that he never meant to oppugn any thing of that; but calls it a *ſingular Bleſſing of God*, and wiſhes that ſhe may ever enjoy it. *Ibid.* C. 18.

PRAY take Notice, *Calvin* ſays, — *if there ſhall be any ſuch*, — and *Beza* ſays, — *if there be any who* won't ſubmit to Epiſcopacy as it is in *England*, which ſuppoſes that THEY knew none ſuch amongſt their Reformers: And that if any ſuch ſhould ariſe, THEY thought there were no *Anathemas* which they did not deſerve.

SO that our modern Diſſenters are diſarm'd of the precedent of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and all the Reformers abroad, by whoſe Sentence they are *anathematized*, and counted as Madmen.

☞ Thoſe who have a Mind to ſee the Propoſitions in this ſmall Tract prov'd beyond the Poſſibility of a Reply, are deſir'd to read a Diſcourſe concerning Epiſcopacy, which they may have at the *Crown* and *Gate* oppoſite to the Weſt End of the Town-Houſe in *Boſton*. Where likewiſe may be had *Barclay's* perſwaſive, printed in *London*, by *Jonah Bowyer*, with other Books of the like Nature.

THE OLD PARSONAGE,

KING'S CHURCH, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND.

THE Rev. Arthur Browne, a native of Drogheda, Ireland, was ordained by the Biſhop of London in 1729, and appointed the ſame year by the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts to the Pariſh of King's Church in Providence, Rhode Iſland. He entered upon the duties of his Rectorſhip October 1, 1730.

On the 6th of January, 1734–5, Mr. Browne purchaſed of Joſeph Whipple, Robert Currie and Nathaniel Brown, *in fee ſimple*, for the conſideration of £250, lawful money, eighteen acres of land "with all the houſing thereon" ſituated on Providence Neck. *Vide Records of Deeds in Providence.*

Before the end of the year 1735, the Rev. Mr. Browne had accepted an invitation, with the conſent of the Biſhop of London, to become the Rector of Queen's Chapel in Portſmouth, New Hampſhire. His miniſtry in Providence cloſed in February, 1736–7.

On

On the 30th day of Auguſt, 1737, about ſix months after his miniſtry cloſed in Providence, the Rev. Arthur Browne, and "Mary his wife," conveyed by deed the before mentioned eighteen acres on Providence Neck, for the ſum of £250, to William Coddington, John Brown, and Charles Bardine, nevertheleſs, *in truſt*, for "the repairing and upholding the Church of England in Providence." *Vide Records of Deeds.*

After the Rev. Mr. Browne's removal to Portſmouth, New Hampſhire, the miſſion of King's Church, Providence, eſtabliſhed by the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel, remained vacant until the appointment, by the Society, of the Rev. Mr. Checkley, in 1738.

From the manuſcript Journal of the Society for April 21, 1738, it appears that preliminary ſteps were then taken to revive the miſſion at Providence, "the People there having built a houſe and ſettled a glebe for an Epiſcopal Miniſter."

It ſeems clear, therefore, that the Old Parſonage was built, or at leaſt finiſhed, for it may have been begun much earlier, after the property was conveyed by the Rev. Mr. Browne and his wife to a Committee of King's Church; that is to ſay, in the autumn or winter of 1737, notice having reached the Society in London before the 21ſt of April, 1738, that a houſe had been built by the people and a glebe ſettled for an Epiſcopal miniſter.

The Rev. Mr. Checkley entered upon his duties in Providence, and took poſſeſſion of the Parſonage in May, 1739, which he occupied till his death.

Time has obliterated moſt buildings erected here in New England in the firſt half of the laſt century, but the Old

Parſonage is ſtill ſtanding, and in a ſtate of good preſervation for a wooden ſtructure, which has witneſſed the viciſſitudes of more than a hundred and fifty years.

The interior has been but little changed. A chimney of maſſive ſize occupies a large ſpace in the centre of the houſe. It reſts upon ſolid maſon work, ſpringing from the bottom of the cellar in two walls or buttreſſes of ſtone, about ſix feet in height. On theſe buttreſſes are beams of compact wood, probably oak, now worm-eaten and crumbling, upon which reſts the ſuperſtructure of the aforeſaid enormous chimney. Open wood fires prevailed at the period of its erection everywhere on this continent. In the Old Parſonage there are five fire-places of generous ſize, whoſe flues open into the great centre chimney, beſides that of the capacious oven, a neceſſary and univerſal appendage in thoſe days to a well equipped kitchen. The principal apartments are finiſhed in panelled wainſcoting, and the quaint hinges of the doors, the latches and locks ingeniouſly combined in one, with braſs knobs, are characteriſtic memorials of the early part of the laſt century.

The exterior of the Parſonage has ſuffered ſome "modern improvements." The chimney top has been diminiſhed in ſize; the window-ſaſhes of the lower ſtory have given place to new ones, with large panes of glaſs, unſuited to the ſize and character of the building. In the ſketch, which accompanies this volume as a frontiſpiece, the artiſt has very properly diſcarded theſe "improvements," and the houſe as here ſeen preſents the ſame appearance that it did when it was firſt erected more than a century and a half ago.

This now antique houſe is pleaſantly ſituated on Olney Street,

Street, leading from North Main Street to Swan Point Cemetery, and is on a ſlight declivity, near the baſe of Obſervatory Hill. It faces to the eaſt, and commands a full view of Eaſt Providence, which preſents the appearance of a ſmall city neſtling at the feet of a larger one. It is a mile and a half, or perhaps leſs than that, from St. John's Church. The City of Providence has now expanded into its immediate neighborhood, but when it was occupied by the Rev. Mr. Checkley it muſt have ſeemed to be quite in the country.

Five or ſix years after Mr. Checkley came to reſide in the Parſonage, he purchaſed other lands in the neighborhood, which with the glebe conſtituted an eſtate of nearly fifty acres, the products of which furniſhed a convenient and ſubſtantial addition to his annual income. In this modeſt abode Mr. Checkley paſſed nearly fifteen happy and uſeful years of his life. Here he diſpenſed his ſimple hoſpitality to the rich and to the poor alike. Here the red man of the foreſt and the African ſlave came for Chriſtian ſympathy, for conſolation, encouragement and ſpiritual advice. From this home his noble ſon, full of youthful hope and promiſe, went forth to croſs the ocean and obtain the ſacred commiſſion to miniſter in the Church of God, but alas! never to return. Here his only daughter was pledged in a happy marriage, and here his grandchildren came with ſmiles and words of love to cheer his laſt months of weakneſs and decay. And here, at length, on the 15th of February, 1754, the firſt occupant of the Old Parſonage paſſed to a ſerene and peaceful reſt, ripe in experience, in learning, and in the fruits of a long cheriſhed and devout faith.

After

After the death of Mr. Checkley, the Rev. John Graves, who had been Vicar of Clapham in the Dioceſe of Cheſter, England, was appointed to King's Church, and he occupied the Parſonage from 1754 to 1783. He was a firm loyaliſt, and when prayers for the king were forbidden during the Revolution by the local authorities, he declined to officiate in the church, although he continued to occupy the Parſonage until the end of the war.

The Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver reſided in the Parſonage from 1783, to September, 1786. Two of the years of his occupancy were before he was in holy orders, while he officiated as a lay-reader. He was ordained by Biſhop Seabury, Auguſt 7, 1785, and was the fifth clergyman who received Epiſcopal ordination in the Anglican ſucceſſion in America. He was ſubſequently Rector of St. Michael's church in Marblehead, Maſſachuſetts.

The Rev. Moſes Badger, a graduate of Harvard College in 1761, who was ordained in England, and had been in the ſervice of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, as an itinerant in New Hampſhire from 1767 to 1774, became Rector of King's Church in 1786, and died in the old Parſonage in 1792.

The laſt incumbent of King's Church, now St. John's, who occupied the Parſonage, was the Rev. Abraham Lynſen Clarke, whoſe reſidence continued but two years, from 1792 to 1794, when the property on account of its inconvenient diſtance, was ſold, and another parſonage was purchaſed nearer to St. John's Church.

For more than half a century the old Parſonage contributed valuable aid to the pariſh, when its numbers were few and

and its means were ſmall. Five of its Rectors found within its ſheltering walls an attractive and comfortable home. Within it two of them completed their earthly career. It is now more than a hundred years ſince it paſſed out of the poſſeſſion of the pariſh. On September 1, 1794, it was conveyed by deed to Dexter Brown, by the Rector, Wardens and Veſtry of St. John's Church. It ſubſequently came into the ownerſhip of Thomas Seſſions. It is now the property of Brown Univerſity.

THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1897.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOUR.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

SECTION 1. John Ward Dean, J. Wingate Thornton, Edmund F. Slafter, and Charles W. Tuttle, their associates and successors, are made a corporation by the name of the PRINCE SOCIETY, for the purpose of preserving and extending the knowledge of American History, by editing and printing such manuscripts, rare tracts, and volumes as are mostly confined in their use to historical students and public libraries.

SECTION 2. Said corporation may hold real and personal estate to an amount not exceeding thirty thousand dollars.

SECTION 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Approved March 18, 1874.

NOTE. -- The Prince Society was organized on the 25th of May, 1858. What was undertaken as an experiment has proved successful. This ACT OF INCORPORATION has been obtained to enable the Society better to fulfil its object, in its expanding growth.

THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — This Society ſhall be called THE PRINCE SOCIETY; and it ſhall have for its object the publication of rare works, in print or manuſcript, relating to America.

ARTICLE II. — The officers of the Society ſhall be a Preſident, four Vice-Preſidents, a Correſponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and a Treaſurer; who together ſhall form the Council of the Society.

ARTICLE III. — Members may be added to the Society on the recommendation of any member and a confirmatory vote of a majority of the Council.

Libraries and other Inſtitutions may hold membership, and be repreſented by an authorized agent.

All members ſhall be entitled to and ſhall accept the volumes printed by the Society, as they are iſſued from time to time, at the prices fixed by the Council; and membership ſhall be forfeited by a refuſal or neglect ſo to accept the ſaid volumes.

Any perſon may terminate his membership by reſignation addreſſed in writing to the Preſident; provided, however, that he ſhall have previouſly paid for all volumes iſſued by the Society after the date of his election as a member.

ARTICLE IV. — The management of the Society's affairs ſhall be veſted in the Council, which ſhall keep a faithful record of its proceedings,

proceedings, and report the ſame to the Society annually, at its General Meeting in May.

ARTICLE V. — On the anniverſary of the birth of the Rev. Thomas Prince, namely, on the twenty-fifth day of May, in every year (but if this day ſhall fall on Sunday or a legal holiday, on the following day), a General Meeting ſhall be held at Boſton, in Maſſachuſetts, for the purpoſe of electing officers, hearing the report of the Council, auditing the Treaſurer's account, and tranſacting other buſineſs.

ARTICLE VI. — The officers ſhall be choſen by the Society annually, at the General Meeting; but vacancies occurring between the General Meetings may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VII. — By-Laws for the more particular government of the Society may be made or amended at any General Meeting.

ARTICLE VIII. — Amendments to the Conſtitution may be made at the General Meeting in May, by a three-fourths vote, provided that a copy of the ſame be tranſmitted to every member of the Society, at leaſt two weeks previous to the time of voting thereon.

COUNCIL.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. THE Society ſhall be adminiſtered on the mutual principle, and ſolely in the intereſt of American hiſtory.

2. A volume ſhall be iſſued as often as practicable, but not more frequently than once a year.

3. An editor of each work to be iſſued ſhall be appointed, who ſhall be a member of the Society, whoſe duty it ſhall be to prepare,

pare, arrange, and conduct the ſame through the preſs; and, as he will neceſſarily be placed under obligations to ſcholars and others for aſſiſtance, and particularly for the loan of rare books, he ſhall be entitled to receive ten copies, to enable him to acknowledge and return any courteſies which he may have received.

4. All editorial work and official ſervice ſhall be performed gratuitouſly.

5. All contracts connected with the publication of any work ſhall be laid before the Council in diſtinct ſpecifications in writing, and be adopted by a vote of the Council, and entered in a book kept for that purpoſe; and, when the publication of a volume is completed, its whole expenſe ſhall be entered, with the items of its coſt in full, in the ſame book. No member of the Council ſhall be a contractor for doing any part of the mechanical work of the publications.

6. The price of each volume ſhall be a hundredth part of the coſt of the edition, or as near to that as conveniently may be; and there ſhall be no other aſſeſſments levied upon the members of the Society.

7. A ſum, not exceeding one thouſand dollars, may be ſet apart by the Council from the net receipts for publications, as a working capital; and when the ſaid net receipts ſhall exceed that ſum, the exceſs ſhall be divided, from time to time, among the members of the Society, by remitting either a part or the whole coſt of a volume, as may be deemed expedient.

8. All moneys belonging to the Society ſhall be depoſited in the New England Truſt Company in Boſton, unleſs ſome other banking inſtitution ſhall be deſignated by a vote of the Council; and ſaid moneys ſhall be entered in the name of the Society, ſubject to the order of the Treaſurer.

9. It ſhall be the duty of the Preſident to call the Council together, whenever it may be neceſſary for the tranſaction of buſineſs, and to preſide at its meetings.

10.

10. It ſhall be the duty of the Vice-Preſidents to authorize all bills before their payment, to make an inventory of the property of the Society during the month preceding the annual meeting and to report the ſame to the Council, and to audit the accounts of the Treaſurer.

11. It ſhall be the duty of the Correſponding Secretary to iſſue all general notices to the members, and to conduct the general correſpondence of the Society.

12. It ſhall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to keep a complete record of the proceedings both of the Society and of the Council, in a book provided for that purpoſe.

13. It ſhall be the duty of the Treaſurer to forward to the members bills for the volumes, as they are iſſued; to ſuperintend the ſending of the books; to pay all bills authorized and indorſed by at leaſt two Vice-Preſidents of the Society; and to keep an accurate account of all moneys received and diſburſed.

14. No books ſhall be forwarded by the Treaſurer to any member until the amount of the price fixed for the ſame ſhall have been received; and any member neglecting to forward the ſaid amount for one month after his notification, ſhall forfeit his memberſhip.

OFFICERS

OF

THE PRINCE SOCIETY

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION.

Presidents.

*Samuel Gardner Drake, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1870.
John Ward Dean, A.M., Boston	1870 to 1880.
The Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, D.D., Boston	1880.

Vice-Presidents.

*Thomas Waterman, Boston	1858 to 1866.
*Frederic Kidder, Boston	1858 to 1863.
*Jeremiah Colburn, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1863.
John Ward Dean, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1870.
*John Wingate Thornton, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1878.
The Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, D.D., Boston	1866 to 1880.
William Blake Trask, A.M., Dorchester	1870.
*Charles Henry Bell, LL.D., Exeter, N. H.	1874 to 1893.
John Marshall Brown, A.M., Portland, Me.	1878 to 1885.
John Ward Dean, A.M., Boston	1880.
James Phinney Baxter, A.M., Portland, Me.	1885 to 1894.
The Rev. Edward G. Porter, A.M., Dorchester	1894.
David Greene Haskins, Cambridge	1895.

Corresponding Secretaries.

JOHN WARD DEAN, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1863.
WILLIAM HENRY WHITMORE, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1872.
*The Hon. CHARLES H. BELL, LL.D., Exeter, N. H.	1872 to 1874.
*CHARLES WESLEY TUTTLE, Ph. D., Boston	1874 to 1881.
*The Rev. HENRY WILDER FOOTE, A.M., Boston	1882 to 1889.
ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN, A.M., Cambridge	1890.

Recording Secretaries.

WILLIAM HENRY WHITMORE, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1863.
WILLIAM SUMNER APPLETON, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1865.
The Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D., Boston	1865 to 1866.
WILLIAM S. APPLETON, A.M., Boston	1866 to 1870.
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN, A.M., Boston	1870 to 1873.
WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, A.M., Boston	1873 to 1875
DAVID GREENE HASKINS, Jr., A.M., Cambridge	1875 to 1895.
The REV. HENRY F. JENKS, A.M., Canton, Mass.	1895.

Treasurers.

*JOHN WELLS PARKER, Roxbury	1858 to 1863.
*JEREMIAH COLBURN, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1873.
*CHARLES WESLEY TUTTLE, Ph.D., Boston	1873 to 1874.
ELBRIDGE HENRY GOSS, Melrose	1874.

OFFICERS

OF

THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1897.

Preſident.

THE REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D. . . . BOSTON, MASS.

Vice-Preſidents.

JOHN WARD DEAN, A.M. . . . . BOSTON, MASS.
WILLIAM B. TRASK, A.M. . . . . BOSTON, MASS.
EDWARD G. PORTER, A.M. . . . . DORCHESTER, MASS.
DAVID GREENE HASKINS, A.M. . . . . CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Correſponding Secretary.

ROBERT N. TOPPAN, A.M. . . . . CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Recording Secretary.

THE REV. HENRY F. JENKS, A.M. . . . . CANTON, MASS.

Treaſurer.

ELBRIDGE H. GOSS, ESQ. . . . . BOSTON, MASS.

THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1897.

Charles Francis Adams, LL.D.	Lincoln, Mafs.
The Rev. Jeremiah Williams Annis, M.A.	London, Canada.
William Sumner Appleton, A.M., LL.B.	Boſton, Mafs.
George Armour, A.M.	Chicago, Ill.
Edward Everett Ayer	Chicago, Ill.
Thomas Willing Balch, A.B.	Philadelphia, Pa.
The Hon. George Lewis Balcom	Claremont, N. H.
James Phinney Baxter, A.M.	Portland, Me.
Warren Kendall Blodgett, A.B., LL.B.	Cambridge, Mafs.
The Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee, D.D.	Boſton, Mafs.
Alexander Brown	Norwood, Va.
John Marſhall Brown, A.M.	Portland, Me.
John Nicholas Brown	Providence, R. I.
Thomas Nadauld Bruſhfield, M.D.	Budleigh, Salterton, Devon, Eng.
Lucien Carr, A.M.	Cambridge, Mafs.
The Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, LL.D.	Chelſea, Mafs.
The Hon. William Eaton Chandler, A.M., LL.B.	Concord, N. H.
Clarence Howard Clark	Philadelphia, Pa.
Henry Troth Coates, A.M.	Philadelphia, Pa.
Deloraine Pendre Corey	Boſton, Mafs.
Eraſtus Corning	Albany, N. Y.
James Henry Coyne, B.A.	St. Thomas, Ontario, Canada.
Ellery Bicknell Crane	Worceſter, Mafs.
John McNab Currier, M.D.	Newport, Vt.
Abram Edmands Cutter	Charleſtown, Mafs.

John Ward Dean, A.M.	Boſton, Maſs.
Edward Denham	New Bedford, Maſs.
Andrew Fein Derr	Wilkesbarre, Pa.
Prof. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, A.M.	New Haven, Conn.
Henry Thayer Drowne	New York, N. Y.
Henry Herbert Edes	Charleſtown, Maſs.
William Henry Egle, A.M., M.D.	Harrisburg, Pa.
Samuel Eliot, LL.D.	Boſton, Maſs.
Joſeph Story Fay	Woods Holl, Maſs.
Albert Alonzo Folſom	Boſton, Maſs.
Charles William Galloupe	Boſton, Maſs.
Richard Hallowell Gardiner, A.B.	Boſton, Maſs.
Frederick Lewis Gay	Brookline, Maſs.
Julius Gay, A.M.	Farmington, Conn.
Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr., A.M.	Salem, Maſs.
Elbridge Henry Goſs	Melroſe, Maſs.
The Hon. Juſtice Horace Gray, LL.D.	Boſton, Maſs.
Iſaac John Greenwood, A.M.	New York, N. Y.
David Greene Haſkins, A.M., LL.B.	Cambridge, Maſs.
Winfield Scott Hill, M.D.	Auguſta, Me.
Amor Leander Hollingſworth, A.M.	Milton, Maſs.
Sumner Hollingſworth	Boſton, Maſs.
The Rev. Joſeph Hooper, A.M.	Durham Centre, Conn.
Miſs Cornelia Conway Felton Horsford	Cambridge, Maſs.
James Frothingham Hunnewell, A.M.	Charleſtown, Maſs.
David Hunt, A.M., M.D.	Boſton, Maſs.
Theodore Irwin	Oſwego, N. Y.
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Publications of the Prince Society.

JOHN CHECKLEY.

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